International and Cultural Psychology
Series Editor: Anthony J. Marsella, Ph.D.

Dharm P.S. Bhawuk

Spirituality and Indian Psychology

Lessons from the Bhagavad-Gita

Springer

International and Cultural Psychology

For other titles published in this series, go to
www.springer.com/series/6089

Dharm P.S. Bhawuk

Spirituality and Indian Psychology

Lessons from the *Bhagavad-Gita*

Springer

Dharm P.S. Bhawuk
Shidler College of Business
University of Hawaii at Manoa
2404 Maile Way
Honolulu, Hawaii 96822
USA
bhawuk@hawaii.edu

ISSN 1574-0455
ISBN 978-1-4419-8109-7 e-ISBN 978-1-4419-8110-3
DOI 10.1007/978-1-4419-8110-3
Springer New York Dordrecht Heidelberg London

Library of Congress Control Number: 2011921339

Printed on acid-free paper

Springer is part of Springer Science+Business Media (www.springer.com)

Dedication

om tatsat

I pray constantly with devotion to
rukmiNi and kRSNa
my parents
and the parents of the universe
with unalloyed devotion
that even devotion wishes for!

I offer this book
impregnated with
sublime devotion
at their lotus feet
bowing my head
with complete devotion!

HARVARD-KYOTO TRANSLITERATION

	कण्ठः	तालु	मूर्धा	दन्ताः	ओष्ठौ
स्वराः (Vocales) svarAH	अ a	इ i	ऋ R	ऌ lR	उ u
	आ A	ई I	ॠ RR	ॡ lRR	ऊ U
	ए e	ऐ ai		ओ o	औ au
anusvAra M (por ejemplo अं)			Visarga: H (por ejemplo अः)		
व्यञ्जनाः (Consonants) vyaJjanAH	क् k	च् c	ट् T	त् t	प् p
	ख् kh	छ् ch	ठ् Th	थ् th	फ् ph
	ग् g	ज् j	ड् D	द् d	ब् b
	घ् gh	झ् jh	ढ् Dh	ध् dh	भ् bh
	ङ् G	ञ् J	ण् N	न् n	म् m
अन्तःस्थाः antaHsthAH (Semi-vocales)		य y	र् r	ल् l	व् v
ऊष्मानः USmAnaH (Sibilantes)	ह् h	श z	ष् S	स् s	
	क्ष kSa	त्र tra	ज्ञ jna		

कृष्ण - kRSNa
अर्जुन - arjuna
राम - rAma
धर्म - dharma
मनस् - manas
बुध्दि - buddhi

आत्मन् - Atman
भगवदगीता - bhagavadgItA
क्षत्रिय - kSatriya
ऋषि - RSi

Foreword

This volume represents an important new direction for our Springer SBM book series on *Cultural and International Psychology*, and also an important new direction for psychology, in general. The realities of our global era have resulted in an increased awareness of the diversities of people and cultures across the world. This has led to growing efforts to understand, appreciate, and respect the diverse psychologies that we are encountering. The challenge, therefore, is no longer to simply study these differences using theories and methodology of cross-cultural psychology, cultural psychology, minority psychology, or even the current approaches to indigenous psychology, but rather, to approach a group's unique and distinct "construction of reality," shaped as this might be across time and circumstance. And with this we are witnessing the struggles to resist the Western-lead homogenization of national, cultural, and individual identities.

This resistance is good! This resistance is right! This resistance is needed. Heterogeneity should and must trump homogeneity, because differences are a defining characteristic of life. Thus, each psychology that exists – regardless of whether it is a psychology of a nation, a minority group, or an embattled indigenous people striving for survival – offers us a unique and distinct template for understanding an alternative view of behavior and experience. Exposure and appreciation of these differences opens our minds to the relativity of our own views, and also to the myriad of alternatives that have evolved across the world. While some may resist the often conflicting and contrary views they are now being compelled to encounter, it is clear that each psychology opens our minds to the endless possibilities for pursuing different human purposes and meanings. Differences offer us choices, choices offer us freedoms, and freedoms offer us the possibility to move beyond limited views of who we are, and what we can become, to new horizons of thought and being.

With the publication of this volume, Professor Dharm Bhawuk, must be credited with helping to move psychology, as a science and profession, toward new horizons of possibility for understanding human behavior. With his publication, Western psychology has gained access to the complexities of the Asian Indian mind and behavior. For so many in the West, the Asian Indian is seen through a limited prism of stereotypes shaped by encounters with media and popular culture (i.e., movies, food, attire, and so forth). These superficialities, though valuable, do little to reveal

complexities of the historical, religious, cultural, and lived circumstances that have shaped the minds of Asian Indians. And here, it must be noted, that India as a nation, is home to hundreds of different cultural traditions and world views. India is a study of diversity in itself, and Professor Bhawuk introduces us to a spectrum of ideas and values specific to certain Asian Indian population sectors.

The fact that India, as a nation, has emerged today as a global economic, political, and cultural power, makes Professor Bhawuk's volume particularly valuable for our current time, for his volume captures a world view – a culturally shaped reality – that offers insights into a land, history, and people formed across millennia. One has only to read the more than 4000 year old *bhagavadgItA*, to grasp the wisdom of ages that has been honed by suffering, survival, and also an imaginative and creative quest for meaning and purpose by India's people. Welcome, then, to pages that are sure to delight, to enlighten, and to expand one's insights regarding a wondrous people, a complex culture, and an enduring heritage.

New York, NY Anthony J. Marsella

Preface

I think it is important to trace the personal history of researchers while discussing their programs of research because scientists are also human (Hofstede, 1994), and their cultural values not only shape their values and beliefs but also their research questions and methodology they use (Bhawuk, 2008a). I think it would provide the context in which this book was written if I presented some autoethnographic account (Ellis, 2004; Ellis & Bochner, 2000; Anderson, 2006) here. This presents a glimpse of the interaction between the subjective and the objective, where the observer himself is being observed! It is akin to story-telling of the personal disclosure type (Jounard, 1971), and the message is to be constructed by the reader by reflecting on his or her own journey, as there is no explicit goal of sharing this story.

My interest in indigenous psychology started when I was in graduate school at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign working under the supervision of Professor Harry C. Triandis. While reading one of his papers on individualism and collectivism (Triandis, 1990), I noticed a Kuhnian anomaly (Kuhn, 1962). Triandis observed that individualists are more creative than collectivists, which did not sound right to me. I mulled over it for years, from 1992 to 1998, building my argument that people spend their energy in what is valued in their culture, and the reason people in collectivist cultures appeared not to be creative was because they were being evaluated on criteria that were of value to the western or individualist cultures. With my interest in spirituality and observation of the Indian society, it dawned on me that in India people value spirituality and hence much creativity was likely to be found in this domain.

As I developed my thought, I recalled meeting people or reading articles or books that supported my conjecture. For example, I recalled meeting a monk in 1979 who was an engineer by training and with a degree in rotor dynamics from Germany. Today he is the head of a successful *ashram* in Gujarat. The famous Indian journalist, Arun Shourie, who exposed the blinding of prisoners in Bhagalpur and was responsible for many such exposés, was an economist by training but had written a book on Hinduism (1980). One could argue that I was using self-deception, the tendency to use one's hopes, needs and desires to construct the way we see the world (Triandis, 2009). However, when one is on a spiritual journey the only desideratum that matters is honesty, which is also true for research. The researcher has

to constantly question his own intention of crafting a theory or finding something that fits his or her thoughts and ideas. I make conscious effort to be honest, but I could never rule out inadvertent self-deception.

When I came across the work of Simonton (1996), I found the literature that allowed me to present my ideas in a full length paper, which I presented at the International Association for Cross-Cultural Psychology (IACCP) conference in Bellingham in 1998 and published it a few years later (Bhawuk, 2003a). Professor Triandis was concerned because I was in the early phase of my academic career and the paper did not fit the western mold of what were recognized as scholarly publications. Nevertheless, he encouraged me to try the top journals because he saw the paper as original. He wrote to me on September 12, 1998, "I thought that both papers were well done. The culture and creativity is not 'mainstream,' so it may be more difficult to publish it. I would think the *International Journal of Intercultural Relations* might be more lenient than the other journals. But start with *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology* and see what they say." He wrote again on September, 15, 1998, "I looked at the papers again, and did not change my mind. The only problem I see is that the one on spirituality as creativity is unusual, and may not be publishable in a mainstream journal. On the other hand, one could make the case that just because it is original it might be acceptable. Why don't you try the top journals first? It all depends on the reviewers. Do not get discouraged if they reject it."

My experience with rejection of the paper by the top journals, both *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* and *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, led me to write another paper about how science has a culture of its own and the need for cross-cultural researchers to watch how their own culture shapes their research questions and methodology. I presented this paper at the IACCP conference in Pultusk in 2000 and published some excerpts from it a few years later (Smith et al., 2002; Bhawuk, 2008a).

An invitation by Dr. Girishwar Misra to write a paper for the special issue of the *Indian Psychological Review* in the honor of Professor Durganand Sinha led me to write my first paper on the *bhagavadgItA* (Bhawuk, 1999), which was my second paper on Indian Psychology. I must say that I did not feel very encouraged those days as the reviews for the culture and creativity paper were not encouraging, and I felt that my work was less appreciated because of where I was – in the USA. However, Professor Tony Marsella's work (Marsella, 1998) and a personal relationship with him (as he was at my university in Culture and Community Psychology, and was instrumental in inducting me in that department as a graduate faculty) encouraged me to work in the area of indigenous psychology. I also felt appreciated by Professor Triandis and Brislin, my two cross-cultural psychologist mentors, who always encouraged me to do what I valued. With these three papers I saw an emerging stream of research in Indian Psychology. I discovered the classic works of Professor Jadunath Sinha while working on these papers, and also got to know Professor Anand Paranjpe personally whom I met at IACCP conference at Bellingham, and we talked for hours like two lost brothers uniting after many years. I read his work with delight and awe, and did not feel so lonely doing research in

Indian Psychology. Learning about his experience also prepared me for the rough journey ahead.

I had critically read the *bhagavadgItA* cover to cover for the first time in 1979, but never found the time to read it again except for occasional reading of a few verses to check the meaning of some concepts that emerged in social conversations. Being a weekly visitor of the ISKCON (International Society for Krishna Consciousness) temple in Honolulu, I kept getting exposed to the *bhagavadgItA*, and the celebration of *Gita Jayanti* in December 2000 at the ISKCON temple provided the structure for me to study the *bhagavadgItA* for the second time after a lapse of 21 years! At this time, I started working on work values from indigenous perspectives, and started reading the *bhagavadgItA* regularly. Interestingly though I never got to finish the paper on work values despite reading the third Canto of the *bhagavadgItA* many times over the years starting in the year 2000, as opportunities called for writing some other papers. Dr. Paranjpe directed me to the conference in Vishakhapatnam on "Self and Personality in Yoga and Indian Psychology" in December 2003, where I presented a paper on the concept of self, and that led to building a model of self – physical, social, and metaphysical – how it relates to work, and the two alternative paths – material or spiritual – that are available to us (Bhawuk, 2005).

Another conference at the Vivekanand Yoga Anusandhan Samsthan (VYASA) (now Vivekanand Yoga University) in December 2003 allowed me to present a paper, "Bridging Science and Spirituality: Challenges for Yoga," and as my research stream in Indian Psychology blossomed, my commitment to Indian Psychology became quite firm. I was delighted to join the group of Indian Psychologists from Vishakhapatnam in what I have called the Indian Psychological Movement. One of the tenets of this movement is to continue to synthesize psychology and philosophy in India, unlike their mindless separation in the west.

I have benefited tremendously from the conferences organized by the Vivekanand Yoga University, which has provided me the motivation to build my work in Indian Psychology. For example, the conference in December 2005 on Self and Emotion offered an opportunity to present a paper, "Anchoring Cognition, Emotion, and Behavior in Desire: Perspectives from the *bhagavadgItA*," which allowed me to synthesize cognition, emotion, and behavior through desire (Bhawuk, 2008c). Similarly the conference in December 2007 presented an opportunity to present the paper, "m*anas* in *yajurveda*, *bhagavadgItA*, and Contemporary Culture: Beyond the Etic-Emic Research Paradigm." At this conference it was decided that Dr. E. S. Srinivas and I would organize a symposium on Indian Psychology at the National Academy of Psychology (NAoP) in December 2008 in Guwahati. This symposium and the resulting special issue of the journal of *Psychology and Developing Societies* (Bhawuk & Srinivas, 2010) and other publications mark a 10 year journey for me in developing indigenous psychological models and contributing to Indian Psychology. I became a member of the Indian National Academy of Psychology (NAoP) in 2006, and have been regularly attending its annual conferences. NAoP has presented me the opportunity to build my cross-cultural psychological research stream from an Indian Psychological perspective (Bhawuk, 2006, 2008d). This book is a synthesis of my contributions to Indian Psychology and extends my past work.

In my research I have decided not to take a shortcut by depending on English translations of Sanskrit texts, and I have made a serious commitment to learn Sanskrit. I work with multiple sources of translations in Hindi, Nepali, and English to ascertain the meaning and nuances of concepts and constructs. I have been fortunate to have the blessings of Professor Ramanath Sharma, a world renowned Sanskritist scholar and expert on Panini in Honolulu. I attended his classes over two semesters in 2001, and he has always been there to walk me through the etymology of Sanskrit words so that a novice like me can appreciate the nuances. I am also grateful to Professor Arindam Chakravarty of philosophy department at my university who has kindly guided me, often fortuitously causing me to think of the presence of a divine guidance, on many occasions in understanding the spiritual dimensions of life.

This research stream has also emerged as I started practicing *vAnaprastha* since 1998. In my personal definition of *vAnaprastha*, spiritual *sAdhanA* (or practice) takes precedence over my worldly activities. Interestingly, it has neither slowed down my research productivity nor taken me away from my other academic duties. Instead, I have become steady in my morning and evening prayers, meditation, and studies of scriptures, which includes regular chanting of verses from them. I have learned to chant the *rudra aSTAdhyAyi*, which is derived from the *yajurveda*. I have learned to chant from *durga-saptazati*, and have committed to memory all the prayers from this text. I started reading the entire text of the *bhagavadgItA*, and began by reading it once a year, then once a month, to finally twice a month. I have also learned from other spiritual traditions, and see the convergence of spiritual practices. I have become a *vaiSNava* in my thinking and behavior, thanks to my wife and children's many reminders and encouragement. I am at peace, and peace and spirituality is no longer only an intellectual pursuit but a way of life for me. I don't think it makes me a biased researcher; instead it makes me an informed researcher. Much like when I teach and write about training and intercultural training, I am able to take the perspectives of both a researcher and a practitioner (i.e., a trainer); I write and teach about spirituality both as a thinker and a practitioner. A current steady *sAdhanA* of 3–4 hours a day has been both an academic and personal investment in self-development, and without the practice of *zravaNa*, *manana*, *and nididhyAsana*, I could not have come this far in my research program in Indian Psychology.

What has emerged in this journey is an approach or a methodology for developing models from the scriptures that can be used in general for developing models from folk wisdom traditions. In my research, I have never worried about the methodology, and have instead focused on the questions that have interested me, and the methodology has always emerged. I followed a historical analysis and complemented it with case studies to develop a general model of creativity, which served me well in pursuing the research question that was somewhat unprecedented (Bhawuk, 2003a). The model building efforts (Bhawuk, 1999, 2005, 2008b, c) have also not followed any prescribed methodology, and thus contribute to the emergence of a new approach. The foundation of this emerging methodology lies in the spirit of discovering and building indigenous insights (Bhawuk, 2008a, b), which in itself is a new approach to indigenous psychological research.

This book would have never happened if I did not start an academic pursuit in cross-cultural psychology and management. So, I am grateful to my cross-cultural mentors, Professor Harry C. Triandis and Professor Richard W. Brislin; to my colleagues Professors Tony Marsella, Dan Landis, Anand Paranjpe, K. Ramakrishna Rao, Giriswar Misra, Janak Pandey, Alexander Thomas, E. S. Srinivas, and Acarya Satya Chaitanya; all of them have inspired me with their own work and life, and encouraged me to pursue research in indigenous psychology and management. This book also would not have happened if I did not have a spiritual bend, which was nurtured early on by my mother (Late Rukmini Devi Sharma), father (Thakur Krishna Deva Sharma), brothers (Chandra Prakash Sharma and Om Prakash Sharma), and sister (Usha Sinha); and later by my wife (Poonam Bhawuk), sons (Atma Prakash and Ananta Prakash), and many friends (Arjun Pradhan, Ganesh Thakur, among others). Professor Ramanath Sharma has guided me over the years and provided me with many *mantra*s that have become a part of my spiritual practice, and he has also taught me Sanskrit, and helped me explain many esoteric concepts and given me feedback on my writings. Mother Kume, Mr. Merritt Sakata, Mr. Mohinder Singh Man, Professor Arindam Chakravarty, Randolph Sykes, Sister Joan Chatfield, Manjit Kaur, and Saleem Ahmed have also guided me for years by sharing their wisdom and insights. The South Asian community in Honolulu, the visitors of Wahiawa temple, and the ISKCON temple have been anchors for my spiritual practice, and I owe my spiritual growth to many friends there. I must thank my students for bearing with me while I sounded my ideas on them in class and in personal dialogues. I owe my gratitude to Vijayan Munusamy, David Bechtold, Keith Sakuda, Susan Mrazek, Kat Anbe, Sachin Ruikar, Anand Chandrasekar, and David Jackson.

Many ideas in this book build on Triandis's work, but there are some ideas that contradict some of his. Our worlds, Harry's and mine, have intriguingly merged as Harry has written a formidable book on self-deception, which, I think, is marginally related to his 50 year contribution to cross-cultural psychology, but relevant to my work on spirituality. Harry thinks spirituality is self-deception, and I think all material activities, career, family, etc., are self-deception, and only when we start our spiritual journey do we begin to stop the process of self-deception that we are so wired into socially. I also think Harry is an advanced *karmayogi*, and I have seen none more advanced like him – he works for the joy of work, and is yet not addicted to it or its fruits. This book would mean nothing without living and practicing *karmayogis* like him.

I hope the readers of the book not only get academic value but also some spiritual insight and direction. Much of what I have written has been extremely useful to me on my spiritual journey, and is thus experientially validated, something that I encourage researchers to do in their life with their research work. To those who will only examine the intellectual content of the book, I hope they find a new method of doing indigenous psychological research and examples of what this method can contribute. This book has given me much happiness in writing it and living it, so if it gives you, the reader, a similar happiness, please share it with others. If you don't like the book, please mail it to me, and I will send you the money you paid for the book, and my sincere apology is yours to keep. I think it is only fair but morally and spiritually right that I give the reader such a guarantee.

Contents

Introduction

Psychology as a discipline has been dominated by western psychology, and the psychology of 1% of the population of the world is imposed on the rest of the world (Triandis, 1994) as universal knowledge. This needs to change. The demand for change is inspired by what Triandis asked for in the late 1970s when he was editing the *Handbook of Cross-Cultural Psychology*:

> I wrote to some 40 colleagues, all over the world, and asked them to send me psychological findings from their culture that are not totally in agreement with findings published in the West. I got back very little. I was frustrated until Terry Prothro, then at the American University in Beirut, Lebanon, pointed out to me that our *training and methods* are also culture bound, and it is difficult to find new ideas without the theoretical and methodological tools that can extract them from a culture. Most of the people I had written to had gotten their doctorates in Western universities and would not have been especially good at analyzing their own cultures from a non-Western viewpoint. Examining one's own culture takes a special effort. (Triandis, 1994, p. 3)

Though cross-cultural psychology has questioned the validity of many western theories and even the methodology used, it limits itself by searching for universals or etics that have culture specific or emic representations. It is time to question the assumption that there are universals outside of cultural context. Indigenous psychological research can help do that, and hence this book is about indigenous psychology, and specifically about a variety of indigenous psychology – Indian Psychology. I think what Triandis was searching for in the 1970s can only come from indigenous psychology, and hence the need for research in that area.

With globalization and the growth of multiculturalism in many parts of the world, spirituality has become an important issue for the global village and our workplace everywhere. There is much support that the nonwestern countries have much to offer in the domain of spirituality (Kroeber, 1944), yet this field of research is far from receiving the attention it deserves. Comparative religion or research on psychology of religion or religiosity hardly does justice to this field that is subjective and applied, which runs against the grain of the positivist tradition that western psychological research has vigorously pursued. This book is about spirituality, and offers perspectives from indigenous perspectives, which should offer some fresh ideas to this area of research.

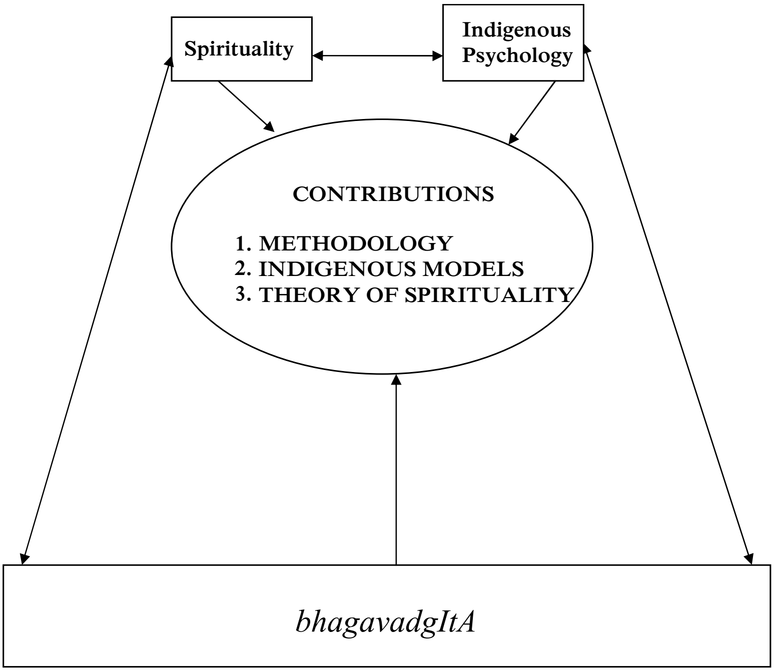


Figure 1 Foundations and outcomes of this book

To meet both the above needs, this book uses the *bhagavadgItA* as its foundation, which is a sacred Hindu text. It is a popular source of knowledge and wisdom for the global community (Prabhupad, 1986). It has been studied by international scholars and has been translated in about 50 languages. This book provides examples of how psychological models can be distilled from such texts. However, the book is not about the *bhagavadgItA*, or a commentary on it. Figure 1 provides a schematic of the organization of the book. It is hoped that psychologists and other cultural and cross-cultural researchers would pay attention to the insights provided by these models, and examine its relevance in light of existing theories. This book attempts to advance research in indigenous psychology by developing models in the domain of spirituality from Indian cultural insights presented in the *bhagavadgItA*.

This book makes three contributions. First, it presents a research methodology for building models in indigenous psychology that starts with indigenous insights. This approach calls for the nurturing of indigenous research agenda, which is necessary since the western world dominates research and knowledge creation that often leads to starting with theoretical positions that are grounded in the western cultural mores. Thus, starting with such a theoretical position invariably leads to the pseudoetic approach in which theories are necessarily western emics. To avoid this Procrustean bed of western-theory-driven research it is necessary to start with insights offered by indigenous cultures, and this is where the research methodology presented in the book is both novel and useful as it could help us avoid the pseudoetic trap.

This approach proposes that we start with insights from folk wisdom and classical texts in indigenous nonwestern cultures. We should enrich these insights with anecdotal evidence, qualitative analyses, and observational data from the target indigenous culture. This approach necessarily has to be not only multiparadigmatic but also driven by multiple methods.

Second, the proposed research methodology is applied to develop many indigenous models from the *bhagavadgItA*. This validates both the practicality and usefulness of the methodology. The models span a broad range of topics, from concept of self to basic processes like cognition, emotion, and behavior. The models show that psychology needs to be grounded in the cultural worldview of the society and people being investigated, and without making such effort we cannot begin to understand human psychology. The models also raise many questions for global psychology, questioning the validity of the dominant western psychology. The intention is not to call to question the existing western psychological knowledge, but to inspire a dialogue among various indigenous psychologies, including the western psychology. The implications of these models, and in general indigenous psychological models, for cross-cultural psychology are also discussed.

Finally, since the models presented in the book deal with spirituality from the Indian perspective, the book contributes to the emerging field of psychology of spirituality. With globalization and the growth of multiculturalism in many parts of the world, spirituality has become an important issue for the workplace, and the book contributes to this new area of research and practice by presenting models from an indigenous worldview that would help expand the perspectives of psychologists and managers.

The book starts by making a case for indigenous psychology in Chapter 1. Our global village is fast changing with astronomical growth in virtual communication and physical movement of millions of people for leisure as well as work. The shrinking of the globe calls for a better understanding of each other, and we can do this by learning how each of us operates in our unique cultural space. This can be done meaningfully through the study of indigenous psychologies in large populous countries like China, India, Indonesia, Brazil, Nigeria, Mexico, and so forth in two ways. First, we can start with the cross-cultural theories and test them in the context of these countries. This approach is better than the pseudoetic approach in which people invariably start with western models developed in USA, Canada, and other European countries. Second, we can start with indigenous ideas to develop models, and then examine the cross-cultural theories and western ideas in light of these indigenous models. In Chapter 1, I present examples of both these approaches, and discuss the need to follow them in light of globalization. It is hoped that researchers will put a moratorium on pseudoetic research that leads to the mindless copying of western ideas, and start paying attention to indigenous ideas in psychology that can be found in many of these nonwestern countries. Psychological research in India is used to exemplify the general ideas presented in the chapter.

In Chapter 2, I posit that spirituality has been valued in the Indian culture from time immemorial, and it is no surprise that many innovations in the field of spirituality originated in India. Since people strive to excel in areas that are compatible with

their cultural values, India has seen the emergence of many geniuses in the field of spirituality even in the modern time. I combine two qualitative methods, historical analysis and case-analysis, to document how spirituality is valued in India, and much like a banyan tree, how it continues to grow even today. The chapter ends with a theoretical discussion of how culture shapes creativity, and its implications for global psychology.

Worldview is shaped by culture, and worldview directs the choice of conceptual models, research questions, and what we do professionally as a social scientist. Researchers interested in culture, by virtue of being both scientists and cultural scholars, are well suited to examine the interaction between the culture of science and other indigenous cultures, and examine the human value system in the context of this dynamic interaction. In Chapter 3, the Indian cultural worldview is contrasted against the culture of science to demonstrate how conflict exists between many traditional cultures and the culture of science. Further, research on Transcendental Meditation (TM) is presented as a vehicle to examine the interaction between Indian cultural worldview and what is called scientific thinking. This discussion leads to the development of a methodology – model building from cultural insights, which is one of the major contributions of this book. The chapter is concluded with a discussion of the implications of this approach to cultural research for global psychology.

Concept of self has been studied from multiple perspectives in India. A review of the study of self in India reveals that indeed the core of Indian self is metaphysical, and it has been the focus of study by philosophers as well as psychologists. There is general agreement about this self, the *Atman*, as being the real self. This metaphysical self is embodied in a biological self, and through the caste system right at birth, the biological self acquires a social self. In Chapter 4, I present material from ancient and medieval texts that describe the indigenous concept of self in India. I then discuss it in light of the contemporary psychological research, and employ this concept of self in the later chapters to build psychological models. This chapter also presents many indigenous psychological constructs like *manas*, *buddhi*, *ahaGkAra*, *antaHkaraNa*, and so forth.

In Chapter 5, a model is drawn from the *bhagavadgItA* that shows how our physical self is related to work. The model shows how doing the work with the intention to achieve the fruits of our labor leads to an entrenched development of social self, but letting go of the passion for the reward for our actions leads us toward the real self. These two distinct paths are discussed in detail. The neglect of the second path in western psychology leads us to miss out on the immense possibility of leading a spiritual life. Considering that spirituality is a defining aspect of human existence and experience, this is not a small loss, and the chapter contributes by presenting a psychological model capturing the paths of bondage and liberation as processes.

Psychologists have argued about the primacy of cognition and emotion for decades without any resolution. Deriving ideas from the *bhagavadgItA*, in Chapter 6, cognition, emotion, and behavior are examined by anchoring them in desire. The model presented here posits that cognition, emotion, and behavior derive significance when examined in the context of human desires, and starting with perception and volition, cognition emerges when a desire crystallizes. Desires

lead to behaviors, and the achievement or nonachievement of a desire causes positive or negative emotions. Through self-reflection, contemplation, and the practice of *karmayoga* desires can be better managed, which can help facilitate healthy management of emotions. It is hoped that insights provided by this model would stimulate research for further examination of the role of desire in understanding and predicting cognition, emotion, and behavior.

The increasing general stress level in both the industrialized and developing worlds has made personal harmony and peace a survival issue for the global community. To serve this need, a model of how personal harmony can be achieved is derived from the *bhagavadgItA* in Chapter 7. The model presented in this chapter provides yet another example of how indigenous psychologies can contribute to universal psychology. It is hoped that insights provided by this model would stimulate research for further examination of the relevance of indigenous psychology to universal psychology.

Work is central to human identity, a topic that is discussed in a wide variety of literature covering psychology, sociology, political science, and literary studies. Work leads to social stratification, which has interested sociologists from the early days of the discipline. Psychologists, particularly industrial and organizational psychologists have also been interested in studying work values and cultural differences in them. Despite the emergence of a large volume of psychological literature related to work and work values, little is known about indigenous perspectives on work and work values. In Chapter 8, the concept of *karma* is examined to present an Indian Theory of Work, and implications of this theory for global psychology are discussed.

In Chapter 9, the epistemological and ontological foundations of Indian Psychology (IP) are derived from the *IzopaniSad* and corroborated by verses from the *bhagavadgItA*. In doing so, epistemological questions like what is knowledge in IP or what knowledge (or theories) should IP develop and how (the methodology) are answered. Similarly, ontological questions like what is the being that is the focus of IP research or are biomechanical or spiritual–social–biological beings of interest to IP are addressed. The chapter is concluded with a discussion of the role of epistemology and ontology in constructing cultural meaning for theory, method, and practice of Indian Psychology.

In Chapter 10, approaches to model building presented in the first nine chapters are formalized into five approaches. First, a content analysis of the text(s) by using key words can lead to the development of models about constructs such as peace, spirituality, *karma*, *dharma*, identity, and so forth. Second, a process of model building from indigenous insights is discussed. Third, the process of discovering and polishing models that already exist in the scriptures to fit with the relevant literature is presented. Fourth, an approach of developing practical and useful theories and models by recognizing what works in the indigenous cultures is discussed. And finally, how one can develop indigenous models by questioning western concepts and models in the light of indigenous wisdom, knowledge, insights, and facts is presented. These approaches steer away from the pseudoetic approach, and allow theory building that is grounded in cultural contexts. The chapter also presents LCM and GCF models of etic, which moves the field of cultural research beyond the emic-etic framework.

In Chapter 11, the major methodological, theoretical, and practical contributions of the book are summarized, and future research directions are noted. This book has proposed a methodology for developing models from indigenous ideas, and has demonstrated that this methodology is useful by presenting a number of models employing it. Methodologically, the book advances cultural research beyond the etic-emic framework by presenting the concept of LCM-etic and GCF-etic. Theoretical contributions of the book can be found in the models presented in each of the chapters in the book. These models also serve as self-help frameworks for practitioners, thus contributing to the world of practice.

Chapter 1
The Global Need for Indigenous Psychology

Our global village is fast changing with astronomical growth in virtual communication and physical movement of millions of people for leisure as well as work. The shrinking of the globe calls for a better understanding of each other, and we can do this by learning how each of us operates in our unique cultural space. In this chapter, I present three reasons for, or imperatives of, doing indigenous research. I posit that there are two ways of doing meaningful cultural research in large populous countries such as China, India, Indonesia, Brazil, Nigeria, Mexico, and so forth. First, we can start with the cross-cultural theories and test them in the context of these countries. This approach is better than the pseudoetic approach in which people invariably start with Western models developed in USA, Canada, and other European countries. Second, we can start with indigenous ideas to develop models and then examine the cross-cultural theories and Western ideas in light of these indigenous models (Bhawuk, 2008a, b). I present examples of both these approaches. It is hoped that researchers will pause to reflect on the mindless copying of Western ideas and start paying attention to indigenous ideas in psychology, for at best, the borrowed Western models of psychology can confuse rather than help in understanding social and organizational behavior in these populous countries. I propose that researchers put a moratorium on pseudoetic research that leads to the mindless copying of Western ideas and start paying attention to indigenous ideas in psychology that can be found in many of these non-Western countries. Psychological research in India is used to exemplify the general ideas presented in the chapter.

Reasons for Pursuing Indigenous Research

The world we live in today has changed in many ways that calls for a better understanding of each other, which calls for focusing on research on indigenous psychologies, for without knowing the psychology of people in their indigenous contexts, we cannot quite understand their worldview and why they do what they do. The 50 most populous countries in the world include only nine countries

D.P.S. Bhawuk, *Spirituality and Indian Psychology*, International and Cultural Psychology,
DOI 10.1007/978-1-4419-8110-3_1,

that share the European culture and include USA with a population of 307 million, Russia (140 million), Germany (82 million), France (64 million), United Kingdom (61 million), Italy (58 million), Spain (40 million), Poland (38.5 million), and Canada (33.5 million). Together these countries have a population of about 825 million, which constitute about 12 percent of the world population, less than that of China (about 1.3 billion, about 20 percent of world population) or India (about 1.2 billion, about 17 percent of world population) alone, and less than the combined population of Indonesia (240 million), Brazil (199 million), Pakistan (175 million), Bangladesh (156 million), and Nigeria (149 million), which are on the list of top ten most populous countries in the world (about 13.5 percent of world population).[1] Clearly, the principles of social science discovered by studying the people of European ancestry alone would not serve the population of the rest of the world, and it is important to derive social theories from the worldview of other cultural traditions, as has been recommended by cross-cultural researchers for many years (Marsella, 1998; Triandis, 1972, 1994a). Briefly, there are three reasons to pursue indigenous psychological research.

First, the globe is shrinking through communication and travel. With the advent of Internet, communication across the globe has increased exponentially. In 1998, there were less than one hundred million users of Internet globally, whereas by June 30, 2010 there were more than 1.96 billion people using the Internet (28.7 percent of the world population) of which 825 million users were in Asia (21.5 percent of the population), 475 million in Europe (58.4 percent of the population), 266 million in North America (77.4 percent of the population), 204 million in Latin America (34.5 percent of the population), 110 million in Africa (10.9 percent of the population), 63 million in the Middle East (29.8 percent of the population), and 21 million in Australia and Oceania (61.3 percent of the population).[2] Global communication has grown to such proportions that it is difficult to think of a remote country. For example, Nepal used to be a remote country even in the 1970s, and the cost of an international call from the USA to Nepal was quite steep through the 1990s. All of that has changed today, with calls from Nepal to the USA being cheaper than in the other direction. When the King of Nepal tried to thwart democracy in 2005,[3] he realized that shutting down the Internet and telecommunication system was not possible. A handful of people were able to share information with the rest of the world about what was happening in Nepal using a few available Internet facilities in the embassies and cultural centers. This contributed significantly to the king's failure to usurp power.

---

[1] World's 50 Most Populous Countries 2009: https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/rankorder/2119rank.html?countryName=Germany&countryCode=gm&regionCode=eu&rank=15#gm.

[2] Internet Usage Statistics: http://www.internetworldstats.com/stats.htm.

[3] Internet and telephone was shut down in Nepal on February 1, 2005, by King Gyanendra when he assumed control of state power by dissolving the government and declaring a state of emergency. http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/1482509/Nepal-shuts-down-after-king-declares-state-of-emergency.html. Similarly, on September 29, 2007, the military government of Myanmar shut down internet. http://opennet.net/research/bulletins/013.

Though the Internet is perhaps the single most important factor that has shrunk the globe, international travel was what started this process. For example, according to the United Nations World Tourism Organization (UNWTO), tourism has steadily grown over the decades – 25 million in 1950, 277 million in 1980, 438 million in 1990, and 684 million in 2000. About 922 million people traveled worldwide in 2008 (51 percent for leisure, recreation, and holidays; 27 percent for visiting friends and relatives, health, and religion; 15 percent for business and professional; and 7 percent for unspecified reasons), which was an increase of 2 percent or 18 million over 2007.[4] In 2008, international tourism generated US$944 billion in revenue, which is about 30 percent of global service export and 6 percent of all exports, giving tourism the fourth place in global business volume after fuels, chemicals, and automotive parts. In 2010, 935 million people traveled worldwide, which was an increase of 6.7 percent or 58 million over 2009. The Asia and Pacific region saw 203.8 million visitors (21.8 percent), and has seen a sustained 6 percent growth per year in tourism since 2000, though countries like India, China, Japan, Indonesia, Vietnam, and Malaysia have seen 10–20 percent growth rate in some recent years. Europe is still the largest tourist destination with 471.5 million people (50.4 percent) visiting this region, though the annual growth rate since 2000 has been only 3.2 percent. Africa and the Middle East attracted 48.7 and 60.0 million visitors, respectively, in 2010. The developing countries as a whole have seen a significant rise in tourist arrival and their share of the global tourism industry was 47.3 percent in 2010 compared to only 31 percent in 1990 (WTO, 2011). It is clear that people travel beyond Europe to many destinations all over the world, making travel industry a truly global business, which is marked by the UNWTO sponsored celebration of World Tourism Day on September 27 since 1980.

Second, voluntary and involuntary migration of students, workers, managers, volunteers, refugees, and asylum seekers is changing the social dynamics in most parts of the world. According to the UN, almost 214 million people live outside of their country, and hundreds of millions of people are internally displaced within their own country.[5] Migration is becoming the way of life, and it requires paying attention to cultural issues facing various populations in contact. Much thick descriptions of indigenous cultures are needed to understand the worldviews of people from traditional cultures as well as to understand the acculturation patterns and issues facing various populations.

And finally, the UN and other population experts projected that by the year 2008, for the first time ever, more people would live in urban centers and cities in the world than in rural areas (Knickerbocker, 2007). This transformation is taking place in the 26 agglomerations[6] (megacities with population over 10 million) of which only New York, Los Angeles, and Mexico City are in North America and Moscow, Istanbul, London, and Paris are in Europe, and the remaining 19 cities are

---

[4] Tourism Highlights 2009 Edition: http://www.unwto.org (Facts and Figures Section).

[5] Opening address of H.E. Mr. Ban Ki-Moon, Secretary General of the United Nations, at the 3rd Global Forum on Migration and Development, Athens, November 4, 2009. http://www.un.org/esa/population/migration/Opening_remarks_SG_Athens.pdf.

[6] *Thomas Brinkhoff: The Principal Agglomerations of the World,* http://www.citypopulation.de.

in Asia (Tokyo, Guangzhou, Seoul, Delhi, Mumbai, Manila, Shanghai, Osaka, Kolkata, Karachi, Jakarta, Beijing, Dhaka, and Tehran), Africa (Lagos and Cairo), and Latin America (Sao Paulo, Buenos Aires, and Rio de Janeiro). Twenty-three percent of the world population (approximately 1.6 billion) lives in these 26 cities. Migration of people from the rural areas to the urban centers has not only social, economic, and environmental ramifications but also implications for work and management. As traditional cultures are preserved in rural areas, people from these areas are steeped into traditional values quite strongly, and a majority of them are still unexposed to globalization and the cosmopolitan ways of global citizens. Migration of people from the rural areas to the urban centers implies that there is an unlimited supply of culture in large populous countries. This idea is similar to the concept in economics that there is an unlimited supply of labor in developing countries (Lewis, 1954).[7] And it is this supply of culture that demands an indigenous approach to research in social science.

This is an age of accelerating changes where growth is so rapid that continuity between the past and the present human experience is broken in many domains. For this reason, Drucker (1969) called this an age of discontinuity, Toffler (1970) predicted that human lives would be filled with future shocks, and UN Secretary General Moon (2009) calls our time an age of mobility. There has been a substantial increase in international trade, and foreign direct investment from the economically advanced countries to the developing countries has grown multifold. This growth has led to the globalization of markets (Levitt, 1983), and despite the rhetoric against it (Holton, 2000; Lie, 1996), many scholars point to the social good that it brings to the world (Bhagwati, 2004; Rodrik, 1997). In the light of globalization and the rapid changes facing the world (Bhagwati, 1988; Guillén, 2001; Naisbitt & Aburdene, 1990), the need for understanding how people from different cultures interact and communicate has assumed a staggering importance (Targowski & Metwalli, 2003). All nations, both developing and developed, are undergoing a period of transformation. Levitt (1983) was prophetic when he described the changes occurring 27 years ago, and his words still describe today's world – "A powerful force drives the world towards a converging commonality, and that force is technology. It has proletarianized communication, transport, and travel. It has made isolated places and impoverished people eager for modernity's allurements. Almost everyone everywhere wants all the things they have heard about, seen, or experienced via the new technologies (Levitt, 1983, p. 92)."

[7] This idea was presented by Sir Arthur Lewis in his article in 1954, which started a huge debate in economics. The soundness of his idea has held up over the years, and he won the Nobel Prize in 1979 (shared with Theodore W. Schultz). People in rural areas are likely to be socialized with the traditional worldview and would bring such cultural imprints with them. Thus, unlimited supply of culture is associated with the unlimited supply of human resources moving from rural to urban areas, bringing traditional culture to the global mix of cultures. For example, extended family, arranged marriage, and so forth are still the norm for most people in rural India, which has both social and work-related consequences.

Levitt (1983) saw technology as the leveler of differences and homogeneity as the outcome of globalization. However, observation of the economic performance shows that China, Brazil, India, and Mexico are on the list of 12 economies whose GDP was over one trillion US dollars in 2009, and they move up in rank when the criterion of Purchase Price Parity (PPP) is used. Using GDP/PPP per Capita[8] shows that many Asian countries like Korea ($23,800), Taiwan ($27,600), Japan ($32,385), and Singapore ($32,749) have become economically advanced, and their GDP/PPP per Capita is comparable to that of the Western industrialized countries such as Italy ($30,654), France ($33,408), Sweden ($35,161), Australia ($35,492), and USA ($44,155). There is also glaring absence of cultural homogeneity between these Asian and Western countries (Hofstede, 2001; House, Hanges, Javidan, Dorfman, & Gupta, 2004; Inglehart, 1997, 2003). Thus, contrary to what Levitt predicted, there is much evidence that economic development driven by globalization is not going to homogenize cultures, though people in all these countries exploit the modern technologies.

Clearly, lures of modernity can be consumed in culturally appropriate ways. For example, using a cell phone does not make everybody low context communicator, driving an automobile does not make one an individualist, and culinary fusion is not ravaging ethnic cooking. At a higher level of abstraction, use of technology and urbanization is not changing the worldview of people, and cultural differences in cognition, perception, affect, motivation, leadership, and so forth are not vanishing but rather becoming more crystallized across cultures as seen in large-scale research programs such as GLOBE (House et al., 2004). In most nations new value systems are evolving, which are simultaneously similar and dissimilar. It is this stage of transformation, which makes global interaction difficult today. Swidler (1986) argued that people have unsettled lives in periods of social transformation, and that culture offers a better understanding of their strategies of action in dealing with the events around them. According to Swidler, people move from ideology to tradition to common sense, and consumption and adoption of technology is motivated by common sense, but ideology and tradition still have their grip on people.

Researchers owe it to cross-cultural psychology, and the indigenous psychology movement in that discipline, that they can even pause to ponder about alternative ways to study human existence, in general, and their behavior in organizations and the society at large. Cross-cultural psychology has consistently made researchers aware of the limits of taking ideas from the West and testing them in other parts of the world (Triandis, 1972, 1994a, b). The ideas need to have equivalence in concept

---

[8] This economic indicator is a per capita ratio of Gross Domestic Product and Purchasing Power Parity, which captures the value of all final goods and services produced within a nation in a given year divided by the average population for the same year. It allows for a meaningful comparison of the economy of countries. GDP/PPP per Capita information for 2006 provided by the World Bank in terms of 2005 Dollar and is taken from: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_countries_by_GDP_(PPP)_per_capita.

and measurement to be useful, each of which is difficult to achieve. Cross-cultural psychology has also established that the search of universals or etics has to be grounded in the specific cultural contexts or emics. Cultural and indigenous psychologies have taken the bold step of arguing that all knowledge is cultural in its origin and must be studied in the unique context of the target culture (Ratner, 2002, 2006), and this view is gaining currency.

Allwood and Berry (2006), with contributions by many psychologists from around the world, examined the causes of the emergence of indigenous psychologies and their nature. They found that dissatisfaction with the solutions offered by Western psychology for social and psychological problems facing these cultures was the main motivation of scholars to nurture indigenous psychologies. These researchers noted the need to develop theories by starting with constructs and ideas found in the indigenous cultures that were rooted in local experience and phenomena. They saw complementarities between indigenous psychologies and universal psychology, and were of the opinion that even Western psychology would be enriched by them.

Psychology in India

Some Indologists have claimed that Hinduism laid the foundations of modern scientific research in cosmogony, astronomy, meteorology, and psychology (Iyengar, 1997). Vanucci (1994) examined the *vedic* perspectives on ecology and its relevance to contemporary worldviews. She may be the first biologist to examine the relevance of the *vedas* from the ecological perspective. Prasad (1995) attempted to show that mysticism is a corollary to scientific investigation, and the late Maharishi Mahesh Yogi might be credited for starting the process of bridging science and spirituality by subjecting Transcendental Meditation to Western scientific methods of examination (Bhawuk, 2003a; Hagelin, 1998).

In traditional Indian thought, psychology was never a subject independent of metaphysics. Thus, it is not surprising that no single traditional work devoted to psychological processes can be found. Sinha (1933) was the first scholar to attempt a constructive survey of Hindu psychology in two volumes; volume one focused on perception and volume two on emotion and will. He stressed in these early volumes that Indian psychology was based on introspection and observation. It was not empirical or experimental, but was based on metaphysics. He discussed the nature of perception and emotion in light of various schools of Indian philosophy like Buddhism, Jainism, *Nyaya*, *Mimamsa*, *Samkhya*, and *vedAnta*. While psychology became established as an empirical science in the West, in both the USA and in Europe, by 1950, in India it remained a part of the discipline of philosophy. Following its independence in 1947 from the British rule, psychology in India moved away from its Indian roots to mimic Western method and theory.

Mishra (Gergen, Gulerce, Lock, & Mishra, 1996) provided a succinct analysis of the development of indigenous psychology in India and posited that psychology,

like all other sciences, was imported to India from the West, and for a long time psychological concepts that did not fit Western assumed etics or universals were simply considered to be anomalies. Thus, in the second half of the twentieth century, Indian psychologists seldom attempted to derive psychological principles from their philosophical or folk traditions. For example, not one chapter was dedicated to indigenous concepts in the three-volume survey of psychology (Pandey, 2000, 2001). As a result, it has become largely irrelevant to the Indian populace. The evolution of cross-cultural psychology has helped change this "look to the West" thinking, and researchers are seeking local conceptualizations, insights, and understanding.

Sinha (1965) was one of the first researchers who related Indian thoughts to Western psychology, and his work has contributed to our understanding of the psychology of economic development (Sinha & Kao, 1988). Paranjpe (1984, 1988, 1998) provides a solid theoretical foundation to synthesize Indian ideas and thoughts with Western psychology in a systematic way, and the indigenous Indian psychological work is beginning to gather some momentum (Bhawuk, 1999, 2003a, 2005, 2008a, b, c, d, 2010a, b; Mishra, 2005; Mishra, Srivastava, & Mishra, 2006; Rao & Marwaha, 2005).

Scope for Indigenizing Psychology

In the 1950s, the Indian as well as the global *zeitgeist* was filled with the spirit of national development, and the Western countries offered the gold standard for development. India had undergone hundreds of years of colonization and needed to become strong, and the Western-educated Indian leaders did not know any better than to emulate the West. Humanists like Gandhi did champion indigenization in both the economy and the lifestyle, but they became the outliers, the saints who were to be venerated and worshipped, but not to be followed by either the leaders or the masses in their daily living.

To appreciate the need for indigenization, let us examine one area of psychology, organizational psychology. Organizational psychology has been driven by efficiency and improvement of work performance in the West, which is primarily led by the profit-driven private sector organizations. But the Indian economy was primarily driven by the public sector, which lacked the motivation to be profitable and efficient. In the absence of these drivers, it is not surprising that organizational psychology did not grow as much in India. Sinha (1972) presented the early history of organizational psychology, and suffice to say that much like other areas of psychological research, organizational psychology jumped on the bandwagon of "mindless" copying of the West.

Organizational psychology covers a gamut of topics like job analysis, employee selection, performance appraisal, training and development, leadership, motivation, job satisfaction, methods of organizing, turnover and absenteeism, workplace safety, and issues of work-related stress. The issues of measurement of various variables

under each of these topical areas are emphasized, and the objective is usually to either reduce turnover, absenteeism, or increase productivity by motivating employees, enhancing their organizational commitment, or making them more satisfied with organizational climate, culture, or practices (e.g., reward system). Measurement also addresses efficiency of processes employed in organizations. In the West, organizational psychology has evolved from being an atheoretical field of research that was focused on solving problems raised by organizations to a theory-driven field, which can be seen in the theoretical sophistication presented in the chapters in the second edition of the *Handbook of Industrial and Organizational Psychology* (Dunnette & Hough, 1992). However, much of this theory assumes that people all over the world are like people in USA, which amounts to imposing the psychology of one percent of the people of the world over the rest of the population of the world (Triandis, 1994a).

Sinha (1994) presented a rigorous review of the field of industrial and organizational psychology in India and categorically stated that organizational psychology, much like psychology in general, has been mostly dominated by Western ideas, theories, and methods. Despite the lack of measurement equivalence, validation data, and a general lack of theory and relevance to the local culture, organizations have used various test batteries developed locally following Western models and scales (Sinha, 1983), and the trend is getting stronger despite the growth of cross-cultural and cultural psychology. Sinha (1994) reviewed areas of research such as leadership, power, work values, basic human needs, job satisfaction, communication, decision-making, conflict resolution, organizational climate, and organizational culture, and concluded that little progress had been made in synthesizing cultural values and indigenous wisdom in studying organizational variables.

Bhawuk (2008d) reviewed research on ingratiating behavior in organizations to examine the penetration of indigenous concepts in organizational psychology in India. He found that Pandey and colleagues (Bohra & Pandey, 1984; Pandey, 1978, 1980, 1981, 1986; Pandey & Bohra, 1986; Pandey & Kakkar, 1982) conducted a program of research on ingratiation in the organizational context in India in the late 1970s (see Pandey, 1988 for a review), which was derived from the work of Jones and colleagues (Jones, 1964; Jones, Gergen, & Jones, 1963; Jones & Pittman, 1982; Jones & Wortman, 1973) and was pseudoetic in its design. These studies examined what had already been studied in the West. For example, Pandey and colleagues examined if there were cultural differences in the cognitive and motivational bases of ingratiation, and how ingratiation was used to control the target person's behavior. They also examined if the cognitive reactions of the target person were different in India as compared to the West and if the degree of ingratiation used as a function of the status of the target person had cultural differences.

The findings of their research supported that there were cultural differences in the forms of ingratiation and that the Indian style of ingratiation included behaviors such as self-degradation, instrumental dependency, name dropping, and changing one's position with the situation (Pandey, 1980, 1981). These are in addition to the three Western strategies – self-enhancement, other-enhancement, and conformity. Thus, this program of research did add some emic content to the literature on ingratiation. Pandey (1988) also reviewed the research stream on Machiavellianism,

which complements research on ingratiation, and presented a flavor of what ingratiation behaviors are like, who uses them and when, and how they are viewed by superiors. However, the findings are so grounded in the Western literature and method, which is reflected in constructs like Machiavellianism, that they lack the necessary thick description to provide an Indian flavor of ingratiation. This program of research contributed to the cross-cultural body of research, but is still largely pseudoetic in nature (Bhawuk, 2008d).

To indigenize this line of research, we need to start by collecting behaviors that people use to ingratiate themselves with their superiors. For example, in India, and South Asia in general, it is common for people to show up on the doorstep of their superiors to gain favors, which would be unthinkable in the Western countries. Politicians are often known to have a "*durbar*" or time for public audience at their homes, and this offers a unique opportunity to ingratiate oneself with the politician. It is not uncommon for senior executives to hold their own "*durbars*" where junior managers report. This system offers a unique system to manage gossip and allows junior managers to get closer to the boss. Bringing gifts to the boss's home is another practice that is used to ingratiate oneself with the boss. Gift items range from seasonal fruits and vegetables to alcoholic beverages, perfumes, and chocolates. Helping bosses when they have a *pooja* (i.e., religious service) or other events at their home is another way to get closer to the superior. In all these behaviors, we see a fudging of the distinction between workplace and home, which is quite strongly maintained in the Western countries.

Using a go-between who has influence on the superior is another tactic used by Indian and South Asian managers. Go-betweens can be the superior of the boss, a family relation of the boss or his or her spouse, or simply an acquaintance of the superior. The effectiveness of the go-between depends on how strongly the person is recommended, and how much time is spent in cultivating the relationship. Doing an important favor to somebody is used as an investment, and people are often generous in paying back their debt. Thus, there is a strong social network shaped by intricate relationships spanning over generations that shapes ingratiating behavior in India, which is quite similar to the notion of *Guanxi* in China. What should also be noted that many of these activities and behaviors are considered respectable and serve as social lubricants.

By spending much effort over a period of time, the subordinate is able to win the trust of the superior and becomes an ingroup member. When a subordinate becomes an ingroup member, the boss trusts him or her with personal assignments. In fact, the most dependable subordinate earns the title of "Hanuman," in that the person is an able agent of the boss much like Hanuman was to Rama. Since Hanuman is a favorite Hindu deity, this is not to be taken lightly, and people take pride in affiliating themselves closely to their superiors to earn this title. It is this kind of emic thick description that is lost in following the Western model in studying ingratiating behaviors or other social and organizational behaviors. In the next section, I present an example of how the cross-cultural approach to research could help us understand group dynamics in the Indian context (Bhawuk, 2008d) and avoid imposing the Western model that may not be relevant in Indian organizations.

Cultural Variations in Group Dynamics

Cohen and Bailey (1997) summarized the research on effectiveness of teams and groups. They concluded that team effectiveness is a function of the task, context or environmental factors, and organizational structure. Group effectiveness also depends on the processes, both internal and external, and the personality of its members. Further, in a meta-analysis, it was found that conflictual relationship as well as task conflict was negatively correlated to team performance and team member satisfaction, and this correlation was strong (De Dreu, Carsten, & Weingart, 2003). However, the validity of these findings across cultures is not known. Some studies support that group performance is a function of cultural variation in the group (Erez & Somech, 1996; Matsui, Kakuyama, & Onglatco, 1987). There is also evidence that though free-riding tendency or social loafing (Albanese & Van Fleet, 1985; Latane, Williams, & Harkins, 1979; Earley, 1989) may be a universal phenomenon, individualists are more likely to involve in this behavior than collectivists (Earley, 1989, 1994). Bhawuk (2008d) proposed that the theory of individualism and collectivism (Bhawuk, 2001a, 2004; Triandis, 1995; Triandis & Bhawuk, 1997) could be used to bridge the existing gap in understanding how cultural variations affect the formation and functioning of groups in organizations. Its relevance to Indian cultural context is examined here.

To examine a popular Western model of group development in the light of cross-cultural research, the theory of individualism and collectivism can be employed. The various phases of group development are examined for cultural variation using the four defining attributes of individualism and collectivism and issues that remain unresolved are raised. This approach shows the value of starting with a cross-cultural theory.

Individualism and Collectivism: A Theoretical Framework

The constructs of individualism and collectivism have had a significant impact on psychological research, so much so that researchers called the 1980s a decade of individualism and collectivism. Synthesizing the literature, Triandis (1995) proposed that individualism has four universal defining attributes that contrast with those of collectivism: Independent versus interdependent definitions of the self (Markus & Kitayama, 1991), goals independent from ingroups versus goals compatible with ingroups (Hofstede, 1980; Schwartz, 1990; Triandis, 1990), emphasis on attitude versus norms (Bontempo & Rivero, 1992), and emphasis on rationality versus relatedness (Kagitcibasi, 1994; Kim, 1994). Much work has been done on the measurement and further refinement of these constructs (Balcetis, Dunning, & Miller, 2008; Bhawuk, 2001; Brewer & Chen, 2007; Chen, Meindl, & Hunt, 1997; Oyserman, Coon, & Kemmelmeier, 2002; Singelis, Triandis, Bhawuk, & Gelfand, 1995; Torelli & Shavitt, 2010; Triandis, Chen, & Chan, 1998; Triandis & Gelfand, 1998; Triandis & Bhawuk, 1997).

Schwartz (1990) suggested that the research on individualism and collectivism would be more productive if these concepts were refined into finer dimensions.

The four defining attributes of individualism and collectivism offer finer dimensions that address this criticism. Bhawuk (2001) synthesized these four defining attributes in a theoretical framework in which concept of self is at the center, and the three other attributes are captured in the interaction of self with group, society, and other (see Figure 1.1 below). These four defining attributes have also been used to explain cultural differences in leadership (Bhawuk, 2004; Gelfand, Bhawuk, Nishii, & Bechtold, 2004) and have been used in intercultural training modules (Bhawuk, 1997, 2009; Bhawuk & Munusamy, 2006).

In individualist cultures, people view themselves as having an independent concept of self, whereas in collectivist cultures people view themselves as having

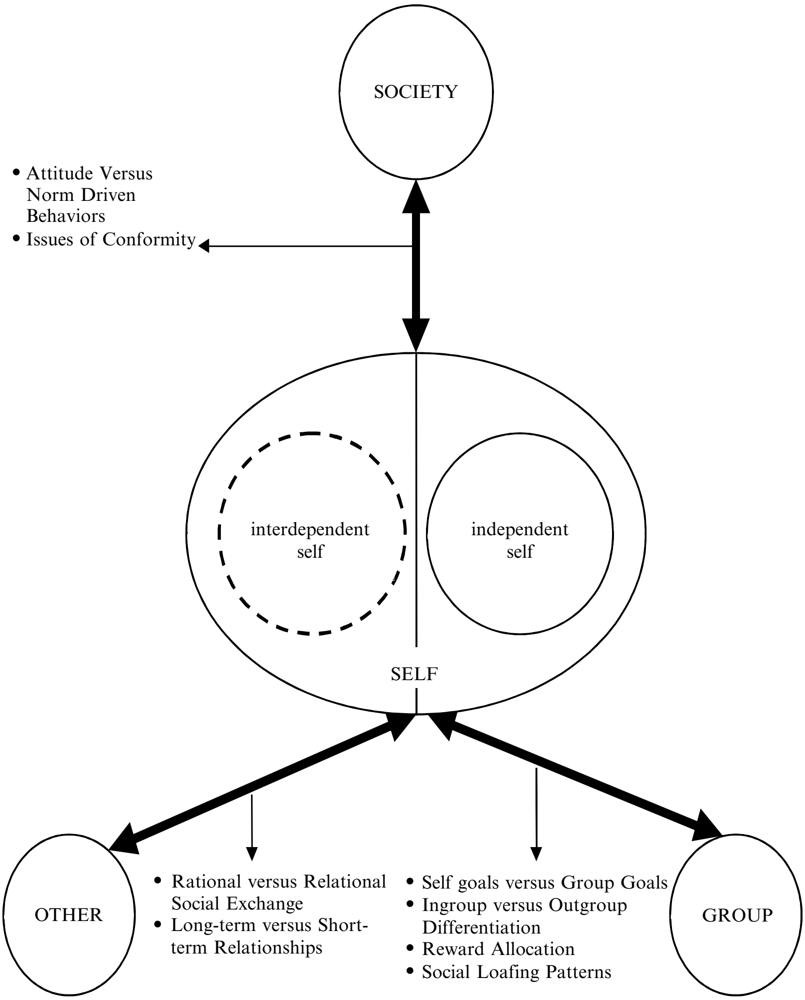


Figure 1.1 A theoretical framework for individualism and collectivism

an interdependent concept of self (Markus & Kitayama, 1991; Triandis, 1995). Individualists' concept of self does not include other people, i.e., the self is independent of others, whereas collectivists' concept of self includes other people, namely, members of family, friends, and people from the workplace. People in the Western world (e.g., USA, Great Britain, Australia, and New Zealand) have an independent concept of self, and they feel a more pronounced social distance between themselves and others, including the immediate family. People in Asia, Africa, Latin America, and so forth have an interdependent concept of self, and social distance between an individual and his or her parents, spouse, siblings, children, friends, neighbors, supervisor, subordinate, and so forth is small.

People in India are likely to have an interdependent concept of self, where the self is shared with many members of the extended family, family friends, and others. Analyzing the words used for relationships, we find that in most Indian languages we have single words not only for members of the nucleus family, i.e., father, mother, brother, and sister, but also for members of the extended family. Paternal grandfather (*dada*), maternal grandfather (*nana*), paternal grandmother (*dadee*), maternal grandmother (*nanee*), maternal uncle (*mama*), paternal uncle (*chacha*), maternal aunt (*masi*), paternal aunt (*bua, foofee*), and so forth. Having a single word indicates the value attached to the concept in the culture, and clearly, the extended family is quite important in India, thus presenting face validity that people in India have the interdependent concept of self.[9]

The boundary of independent self is sharply and rigidly defined, whereas interdependent self has a less rigid and amorphous boundary (Beattie, 1980). This could be a consequence of the holistic view of the world held by people in collectivist cultures. In this view, the self is thought to be of the same substance as other things in nature and cannot be separated from the rest of nature (Galtung, 1981; see also Bhawuk, 2008c for a discussion of how in the Indian worldview concept of self merges with the universe). Therefore, the relationship between the self and other people or elements in nature is much closer, and people not only share interdependence but also feel an emotional attachment to members of their extended family and friends. On the other hand, people in individualist cultures usually hold a Cartesian worldview, in which the self is independent of other elements of nature (Markus & Kitayama, 1991). An individualistic person, therefore, takes more control over elements of nature or situations around himself or herself and feels less emotional attachment to others and more responsible for his or her behaviors. The social and behavioral implications of having different concepts of self are significant for group dynamics.

[9] The kinship terms often differentiate on both sides of the family and also mark age and gender explicitly. Here are relationship words in Telugu, a southern language of India. Father: *nanna, trandri*; mother: *amma, thalli*; brother: *anna, tammudu*; sister: *akka, chelli*; uncle: *menamama, mamayya, babai, chinnana*; aunt: *pinni, peddammma, atta*; grandfather: *tata*; grandmother, *ammama, nanamma*; husband: *bartha, mogudu*; wife: *braya, pellam*; brother-in-Law: *bava*, *bammaridi*; sister-in-law: *vadina*, *maradalu*; niece: *menakodalu*; nephew: *menalludu*; relative: *bandhuvu*; friend: *snehitudu*; guest: *athidhi*.

The second defining attribute focuses on the relationship between self and groups of people. Those with the independent concept of self develop ties with other people to satisfy their self needs, rather than to serve a particular group of people. However, those with interdependent concept of self try to satisfy the needs of the self as well as the members of the collective included in the self. For example, Haruki, Shigehisa, Nedate, and Ogawa (1984) found that both American and Japanese students were motivated to learn when they were individually rewarded for learning, whereas unlike the American children, the Japanese students were motivated to learn even when the teacher was rewarded. The Japanese children are socialized to observe and respond to others' feelings early on. So a mother may say "I am happy" or "I am sad" to provide positive or negative reinforcement rather than directly saying "You are right" or "You are wrong." Thus, difference in concept of self leads to difference in how people relate to their ingroup or outgroup.

Collectivism requires the subordination of individual goals to the goals of a collective (Triandis, 1989; Triandis et al., 1985), whereas individualism encourages people to pursue the goals that are dear to them and even change their ingroups to achieve those goals. Divorce results many times, for individualists, because people are not willing to compromise their careers, whereas collectivists often sacrifice career opportunities to take care of their family needs (ingroup goals) and derive satisfaction in doing so. Not surprisingly, making personal sacrifice for family and friends is a theme for successful films in India. The reason for giving priority to the ingroup goals is the narrowness of the perceived boundary between the individual and the others or the smaller social distance between self and others. Also, collectivists perceive a common fate with their family, kin, friends, and coworkers (Hui & Triandis, 1986; Triandis et al., 1990).

Collectivists define ingroups and outgroups quite sharply compared to individualists (Early, 1993; Triandis, 1989; Triandis, Bontempo, Villareal, Asai, & Lucas, 1988). When a certain group of people is accepted as trustworthy, collectivists cooperate with these people, are willing to make self-sacrifices to be part of this group, and are less likely to indulge in social loafing (Early, 1989). However, they are likely to indulge in exploitative exchange with people who are in their outgroups (Triandis et al., 1988). Individualists, on the other hand, do not make such strong distinctions between ingroups and outgroups. A laboratory finding supports how collectivists differentiate between ingroup and outgroup members, whereas individualists do not. When asked to negotiate with a friend versus a stranger, collectivists were found to make a special concession to their friend as opposed to the stranger. Individualists, on the other hand, made no such difference between friend and stranger (Carnevalle, 1995). For this reason, in India people approach others through a common friend for getting a good bargain or a good service.

The interaction between self and groups also has important implication for reward allocation. Individualists use the equity rule in reward allocation, whereas collectivists use equality rule for ingroup members and equity rule for outgroup members. For example, Han and Park (1995) found that the allocentric Koreans favored ingroups over outgroups more than the idiocentric ones. They also found that in reward allocation situations, allocentrics preferred the equitable (i.e., to each

according to his or her contribution) division of rewards for outgroup members with whom they expected to have no interaction in future, but not so for ingroup members with whom they expected to interact more frequently. Equality was preferred for ingroup members. The idiocentrics or individualists, on the other hand, preferred equitable division for both ingroups and outgroups.

The third defining attribute focuses on how the self interacts with the society at large. Those with independent concept of self do what they like to do, i.e., they pursue their individual desires, attitudes, values, and beliefs. Since this works for everybody with an independent concept of self, the individualistic society values people doing their own things. However, people with interdependent concept of self inherit many relationships and learn to live with these interdependencies. Part of managing the interdependencies is to act properly in all kinds of social settings, which requires that people follow the norm rather strictly not to upset the nexus of social expectations. It is for this reason that Rama, a popular deity and a cultural role model for Indian men, always acted properly and is called *maryAdA puruzottam* (or the ideal man who followed the tradition of *dharma*). Hence, the difference in following own attitude versus norms of the society differentiates individualist and collectivist cultures and has implication for formation of group norms.

One reason for the collectivists' desire to conform results from their need to pay attention to what their extended family, friends, colleagues, and neighbors have to say about what they do and how they do. A sense of duty guides them toward social norms in both the workplace and interpersonal relationships. Individualists, on the other hand, are more concerned about their personal attitudes and values. Often, in individualist cultures there are fewer norms about social and workplace behaviors, whereas in collectivist cultures there are many clear norms. It should be noted that it is not true that individualist cultures do not have norms or that collectivist cultures do not have people doing what they like to do. Granted that there are exceptions, still in individualistic cultures there are fewer norms and those that exist are not severely imposed, whereas in collectivist cultures not only norms are tightly monitored and imposed but also antinormative behaviors are often hidden from public eyes.

The fourth defining attribute focuses on the nature of social exchange between self and others. In individualist cultures, social exchange is based on the principle of rationality and equal exchange. People form new relationships to meet their changing needs based on cost-benefit analysis. On the other hand, in collectivist cultures, where relationships are inherited, people nurture relationships with unequal social exchanges over a long period of time. They view all relationships as long term in nature and maintain them even when they are not cost-effective.

Clark and Mills (1979) discussed the difference between exchange and communal relationships. In an exchange relationship, people give something (a gift or a service) to another person with the expectation that the other person will return a gift or service of equal value in the near future. The characteristics of this type of relationship are "equal value" and "short time frame." People keep a mental record of exchange of benefits and try to maintain a balanced account, in an accounting sense (Bhawuk, 1997).

In a communal relationship, people do not keep an account of the exchanges taking place between them; one person may give a gift of much higher value than the other person and the two people may still maintain their relationship. In other words, it is the relationship that is valued and not the exchanges that go on between people when they are in communal relationships. In India, we find that people still maintain relationships they have inherited from their grandparents. In this type of relationship, people feel an "equality of affect" (i.e., when one feels up the other also feels up, and when one feels down the other also feels down). It is related to the notion of having a common fate (Triandis et al., 1990).

Thus, the four defining attributes provide a framework to understand cultural differences in self and how it relates to groups, society at large, and interpersonal and intergroup relationships. We can also see that it is a useful framework to both explain and predict social behaviors in the Indian context. Next, Tuckman and Jensen's (1977) model of small group development is examined in light of this theory to show how it can be adapted for the Indian cultural context.

A Group Dynamics Model

Tuckman and Jensen (1977) presented a model of small group development, which is perhaps the most popular Western model of group development (Maples, 1988). According to these researchers, groups develop in five phases. The first phase is referred to as the *forming* stage in which strangers come together to work on some common assignment. This is a time of uncertainty. People try to learn about each other and the group task, and decide whether they would like to be part of the group or not. At the end of this stage, the group is somewhat loosely formed.

In the second stage, *storming*, people are said to be exploring how much of their individuality they would sacrifice to become a part of the group. There is power struggle among the group members, and both task-related and interpersonal conflicts arise. The group members deal with these conflicts and learn to accommodate each other's idiosyncrasies. The label storming is used to reflect the conflictual nature of this stage, where a lot of group effort and time is spent on dealing with the human Tsunami.

In the third stage, *norming*, group values crystallize. Members develop a procedural knowledge and understanding of when to start and end group discussions, what to avoid and how, when to take a break, who is strong in what area, what are members' weaknesses or hot spots, and so forth. Thus, group expectations and norms evolve as the group begins to move away from conflicts toward achieving group goals. Group is no longer loose, and members accept each other as a person, with their strengths and weaknesses and with their personal idiosyncrasies and professional strengths. They may even identify themselves as a member of the group.

In the fourth stage, *performing*, the group focuses on meeting its objectives and needs to spend little time on managing interpersonal relationship. The group works almost like an individual and is committed to group goals. In the final stage,

adjourning, which is applicable to only temporary groups and committees, the group members bid farewell to each other, having accomplished their group goals. In this phase, members shift their focus to interpersonal relationships and closure of the project. Depending on the time frame, members may organize a social event to shake hands before returning to their home assignments.

This model is used in management education in both university courses and corporate training programs and is discussed in popular experiential management textbooks (Osland, Kolb, & Rubin, 2001). It is popular in both North America and Asian countries. However, its cross-cultural validity has not been established in research. Therefore, it was considered worthwhile to examine the model's usefulness by using the theoretical framework of individualism and collectivism presented earlier.

Exploring Cross-Cultural Validity of the Model

Each of the four defining attributes has some implications for the stages of group development, but some are more salient than others. The first two defining attributes are more likely to influence the first stage of group development. The interdependent concept of self leads collectivists to share their self with their family members and people they closely work with. Therefore, collectivists are likely to attach different meaning to being a part of a group than individualists. For example, individualists can easily dissociate themselves from any group, if they do not like it for whatever reasons, but collectivists are sort of stuck with whatever group they become a part of. Therefore, collectivists are likely to be slow in becoming a part of a new group, and if it is a permanent group, collectivists are likely to be slow in exiting the group as well.

The way people interact with other groups is also likely to influence the forming stage. There is a marked difference between individualists and collectivists in how they interact with friends versus strangers, i.e., collectivists treat the ingroups differently compared to outgroups. As such, the tendency for collectivists to look for similarities in a group is higher than it is for individualists. This may make it difficult for collectivists to become a part of a group that has members from outgroup, which might not be an issue for individualists, unless there are people with incompatible personalities in the group. Therefore, in Indian organizations, as compared to Western organizations, people are more likely to seek similarities in the forming stage of a group. The forming stage is likely to be longer for groups in Indian organizations. And it is likely that the group will never complete the forming stage in Indian organizations if people find that there are outgroup members in the group.

The second stage is likely to be different for individualist versus collectivist culture in many ways. First, because of the norm of face saving, collectivists are unlikely to air their feelings openly in the group and would take measures to avoid conflict at all costs. "Conflict is good for the group" is a very individualistic idea, and collectivists are not likely to allow conflicts to arise in the first place.

Second, since individualists handle conflicts differently than do collectivists, individualists are likely to do what they like, whereas collectivists will look for norms to resolve conflicts. This phase is also likely to be different since the collectivists treat ingroup members differently from outgroup members, but individualists do not. Therefore, should a conflict arise, and should there be ingroup and outgroup members in the group, the collectivists are likely to quickly rally behind their ingroups, thus aggravating the situation. Finally, different leadership patterns may emerge in individualist versus collectivist groups. In individualist groups, those who aspire to lead the group are going to express their thoughts and ideas, confront people, take the initiative to mediate conflict between members, and express their desire to work as the leader of the group. In collectivist groups, on the other hand, people are going to show deference to people who are older, more senior, more educated, and more experienced. Leaders would emerge by consensus, and those who have the skills to read the context and facilitate the group process are likely to emerge as leaders.

Therefore, the storming stage found in groups in Western organizations may simply not be present in Indian organizations. Groups in Indian organizations may show significantly more harmonizing efforts to keep the group together than do groups in Western organizations. In Indian organizations, groups may use normative approach to conflict resolution, as compared to Western groups that resolve each conflict in a unique way. Presence of outgroup members in a group in Indian organizations is likely to lead to formation of cliques. And, finally, the locus of evolution of leadership in groups in Indian organizations is likely to be different from that in Western organizations.

The third stage reflects the formation of the identity of the group, and individualists and collectivists are likely to develop different norms for the group. First, because of their inclination to be embedded in relationships, which results from their interdependent concept of self, collectivists are likely to spend more time and effort in nurturing interpersonal relationships than individualists. Individualists are likely to view the relationships among group members as a tool to achieve group goals, whereas collectivists are likely to view the sustenance of the relationships among group members itself as an important group goal. Second, collectivists are likely to extend the work relationship among the group members to the social sphere, since they look at relationships as extending beyond work relationships. Individualists, on the other hand, are likely to limit their interactions mostly to the work meetings. Third, collectivists are likely to develop much cohesive groups than individualists, all else constant, because the group may form a part of their interdependent self. Finally, since the interdependent concept of self leads collectivists to feel an emotional attachment to the ingroup, the members of the collectivists group will show a pronounced emotional attachment to the group in the third stage.

Therefore, people working in groups in Indian organizations are likely to spend significantly more time with group members discussing interpersonal issues compared to groups in Western organizations. Groups in Indian organizations are also likely to have more social interactions, beyond the work-related meetings and

interactions, than would groups in Western organizations. Social distance between members in a group in Indian organizations is likely to be significantly smaller than the same in groups in Western organizations. And finally, members of groups in Indian organizations may show significantly higher affect toward each other than do members of groups in Western organizations.

In the fourth stage, because of their inclination to choose rational exchange in relationships, individualist groups are likely to reduce their social interactions to a minimum. The logic is – we have spent enough time understanding each other, let us now reap the benefits by producing results. Because of their independent concept of self, individualists are also likely to take interpersonal-related issues for granted and focus more on tasks. Also, there may be some social loafing, since that helps maximize individual utility for people with an independent concept of self. Collectivists, however, are relational and like to spend time with their friends and colleagues. Therefore, when the group has gone through the first three stages, its members are likely to continue to spend as much, if not more, time with each other. Collectivist groups are likely to take task-related goals for granted, since group members are likely to compensate for each other's shortcomings in performance. Among collectivists there will be less social loafing, since they make sacrifice for ingroups.

Therefore, unlike groups in Western organizations, time spent to smooth out relationships in groups in Indian organizations from the third to the fourth stage is likely to remain about the same; and compared to groups in Western organizations, groups in Indian organizations are likely to show a significantly lower level of task-related communication among group members in the fourth stage of group development. Finally, compared to the well-performing groups in Western organizations, groups in Indian organizations are likely to show fewer incidents of social loafing.

When the time comes for adjourning the group, there will be significant differences among the members of individualist versus collectivist groups. Collectivists are relational, and once a relationship is formed, the relationship is valued beyond its functionality. Individualists, on the other hand, view relationships as serving some rational exchange. Therefore, when the group has served its purpose, individualists are likely to maintain relationship with only those who they would continue to work with, whereas collectivists are likely to maintain the relationship for a longer time. It is also relevant to note that collectivists are likely to consider people who they have worked with on a team project as friends, whereas individualists are likely to consider the relationship strictly functional and view the people as acquaintances.

Therefore, the frequency of communication between group members is likely to drop significantly, from stage four to five, for groups in both Indian and Western organizations. However, the frequency of communication between members of the groups in Indian organizations will be significantly larger than that for the groups in Western organizations after the group has been dismantled. Also, in Indian organizations, as opposed to groups in Western organizations, people are likely to regard the group members as friends rather than acquaintances, when groups disassemble.

Even a cursory examination of the model will reveal the task-focused nature of the model, in that the culmination of the group process is in accomplishing the task, i.e., performing, rather than in bringing together people to form a group, i.e., norming. This is clearly an individualistic culture's preoccupation with action, i.e., "doing," in Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck's (1961) typology, as opposed to "being." By applying the theory of individualism and collectivism to this group dynamics model, it can be seen that indeed the theory can be used to predict significant differences in the stages of group development between individualist and collectivist cultures. Thus, there is value in starting research with a cross-cultural theory rather than adopting a pseudoetic approach. There are other examples of this approach (for example, see Bhawuk, 2003a for an application of cross-cultural theory to creativity). In the next section, I discuss how ideas can be derived from indigenous cultures to do culturally relevant research and present an indigenous typology of leadership that may be useful for research on this topic in India.

An Indian Typology of Leaders

Sinha (1980) contributed to the understanding of leadership in India by presenting his model of the Nurturant Task Leader, which has found support in many studies since his seminal work (see Sinha, 1994, 1996 for a review). Interestingly, though grounded in the emic or culture-specific aspects of India, it could be argued to be an extension of the popular Ohio State University (Fleishman, Harris, & Burt, 1955) and University of Michigan (Bower & Seashore, 1966; Likert, 1961) models of the 1950s and 1960s. In these models, a leadership typology based on whether leaders were job-centered or focused on task (or initiating structure) or were employee-centered or focused on people (or consideration) was presented, which resulted in a 2×2 giving four types of leaders, those who were low on task or consideration, those who were high on task or consideration, or those who were high on both task and consideration. Nurturant task leaders fit that high–high quadrant, i.e., this type of leaders focus on task but also invest in people.

Nurturant Task Leader provides much insight into the nature of leader and follower relationship in the Indian context. This model has implications for a major Western leadership theory, Leader Member Exchange (LMX) theory proposed by Graen and colleagues (for a review see Graen & Wakabayashi, 1994), which has also found some cross-cultural support. In LMX, it is argued that leadership is not simply about many subordinates willing to carry out the leader's wish, but about a two-way exchange between leaders and their followers, each investing in the other. They present empirical evidence that leaders invest in their subordinates, and the relationship between the two grows from being a stranger to acquaintance to a mature relationship. In the process, their relationship grows from being exchange based to being moral, to borrow a term from Etzioni (1975).

Sinha (1994) quite lucidly delineated how Indian organizations have a more pronounced social identity than a work identity. This implies that leader–member

exchange is likely to be less of an exchange-based relationship in Indian organizations and more of a communal relationship as discussed above since that is common with work relationships in collectivist cultures (Bhawuk, 1997). Thus, there is a need to examine closely the process of the development of a Nurturant Task Leader in the context of leader–member exchange theory. It is quite plausible that though most of the work relationships are social, some emerge to be deeper than others, and to examine the antecedents and consequences of these matured relationships would enrich the leadership literature in both India and internationally. This may also help further develop LMX theory, since the Indian model may exemplify a more general cultural model, a collectivist model of social exchange in organizations between leaders and subordinates.

If we scan the Indian environment for leaders, we are likely to find a variety of leaders, many of whom may not be found in other cultures (Bhawuk, 2008d). It may be of value to explore and develop a typology of Indian leadership styles, and the following are offered as a starting point to stimulate future research.

sannyAsi Leaders

Organizational psychologists may wonder the relevance of studying *sanyasi* leaders. It would seem that *sannyAsis* would have no reason to be a leader since they are by definition not to own any worldly belongings or be attached to any relationship. However, a quick survey of the Indian spiritual and religious organizations shows that we do have active *sannyAsi* leaders. It is also interesting, and often neglected, that many of the *sannyAsis* have created incredibly large organizations, with much resource, employees, and customer base or followers. To name just a few, and this is not to rank them in anyway, Swami Vivekanand (Ramkrishna Mission), Swami Yoganand (Yogoda Satsang Society in India & Self Realization Fellowship internationally), Swami Shivanand (Divine Life Society), Maharishi Mahesh Yogi (Transcendental Meditation, Vedic University), Shree Prabhupad (International Society for *kRSNa* Consciousness or ISKCON), Satya Sai Baba (International Sai Organization), and so forth. Many of these organizations even offer programs and courses in leadership.

Swami Agnivesh, the recipient of the Right Livelihood Award, also known as the alternate Nobel Prize, in 2004, has emerged as a leader par excellence of social reform and has founded many religious and social organizations and spearheaded many initiatives including the one on saving children from bonded labor. Similarly, Mother Teresa is known for her legendary service to the downtrodden people of Calcutta and went on to win the Nobel Prize in 1979, the Templeton Prize in 1993, Pope John XXIII Peace Prize in 1971, the Nehru Prize for her promotion of international peace and understanding in 1972, and the Balzan Prize in 1979. A study of these spiritual leaders and their organizations may present an interesting perspective on leadership and organizational development in India.

karmayogi Leaders

A leader who focuses on work without paying attention to the fruits of the work would fit this category, which is derived from the *bhagavadgItA*. In the *bhagavadgItA*, King Janak is presented as an example of a *karmayogi*, but clearly other personalities in the Indian mythology would fit the description of a *karmayogi*, including noble kings like Harishchandra, Raghu, Shivi, Rama, among others. Many modern prototypes for *karmayogi* leaders like Maharana Pratap, Shivajee, Tilak, Raja Ram Mohan Roy, Gandhi, Vinoba Bhave, Nehru, Vallabhbhai Patel, and Morarjee Desai come to mind, and many other freedom fighters involved in the independence movement would also fit this category. Business leaders like Birla and Tata may also fit this prototype.

Many of the social reformers also fit this typology, and some are noted for winning Right Livelihood Award. For example, Ela Bhatt of SEWA – Self-Employed Women's Association, was the first recipient of this award from India in 1984 for helping home-based producers to independence and an improved quality of life. Vandana Shiva was another woman who received this award in 1993 for her work on ecological issues and in the women's movement. Dr. H. Sudarshan led Vivekananda Girijana Kalyana Kendra (VGKK) and showed how tribal culture can help secure the rights and needs of indigenous people winning this award in 1994. Medha Patkar and Baba Amte lead the Narmada Bachao Andolan or Save Narmada Movement, which is a people's movement against the world's biggest river dam project and won this award in 1991.

Similarly, Sunderlal Bahuguna, Chandi Prasad Bhatt, Dhoom Singh Negi, Bachni Devi, Ghanasyam Raturi, and Indu Tikekar are credited for leading the Chipko Movement, which saved the forests of Himalaya. Chipko received the Right Livelihood Award in 1987. Ladakh Ecological Development Group, founded by Helena Norberg-Hodge, devised appropriate technologies and sought to preserve the traditional culture of Ladakh winning this award in 1986. Rajni Kothari, one of the founders of Lokayan, created an organization that stimulated "Dialogue with the People" through the networking of local initiatives and was recognized by this award in 1985. Professor E.K. Narayan and P.K. Ravindran, Presidents of Kerala Sastra Sahithya Parishat or People's Science Movement of Kerala, have led their organization to win this award in 1996 for their crucial role in building Kerala's unique model of people-centered development. Others like Baba Amte, who have received the Templeton Prize in 1990, and Pandurang Shastri Athavale, who received this prize in 1997, are also candidates in this category of leaders.

These are the prototypes that inspire the Indian leaders and followers, and much work needs to be done in understanding how these heroes are viewed in modern India, and how people attempt to emulate them today. A starting point would be to develop a biographical profile of such leaders, which will provide the thick description necessary to understand who they were and how they led.

Pragmatic Leaders

Many modern politicians and business leaders may be viewed as pragmatic leaders, who are neither *sannyAsis* nor *karmayogis* working for the general public well-being. More recent Indian Prime Ministers like Indira Gandhi, Charan Singh, and Atal Bihari Vajpayee, or business leaders like the late Dhirubhai Ambani (the founder of the Reliance Group), Rushi Modi, and Ratan Tata, may fit this typology. Leaders in this category are likely to grow as profit-oriented business organizations grow in India; however, the above two typologies should not be neglected since we still see innumerable *sannyAsis* and *karmayogis* who are committed to serving people without much personal gain, and many of them are winners of the Right Livelihood Award and the Templeton Prize.

Legitimate Nonleaders

Perhaps the study of leadership in India should also focus on studying nonleaders who are thrust in the position of leadership by organizations and political parties. These are the people who are technically leaders, because organizations bestow legitimate authority on them and expect them to be leaders; however, these people are simply not capable of creating a vision and implementing it or even running a smooth organizational machine creating profit and growth. This group of nonleaders comes from the government funded and supported organizations, and they simply finish their three or more year term and leave no mark on the organization or people working in these organizations. This typology captures the rich cultural emics of India, and exploring a research agenda like this may contribute to the global understanding of leadership beyond what a pseudoetic or even a cross-cultural theory-driven approach can offer.

Implications for Global Psychology

The two approaches presented above show that starting with cross-cultural or Western psychological models and theories, we can identify lacunas in the literature that capture theoretical, methodological, and practical gaps. These lacunas can be filled by developing indigenous or emic models, and then by comparing these models with cross-cultural or Western models, we can develop global psychology. Alternatively, the gaps in the literature could be explored from the etic perspectives to contribute to global psychology. The search of etic seems to be motivated by attenuating gaps in the literature to develop coherent and richer or more rigorous cross-cultural theories, which can be seen in the development of the work of Triandis (individualism and collectivism, 1995), Schwartz (value framework, 1992),

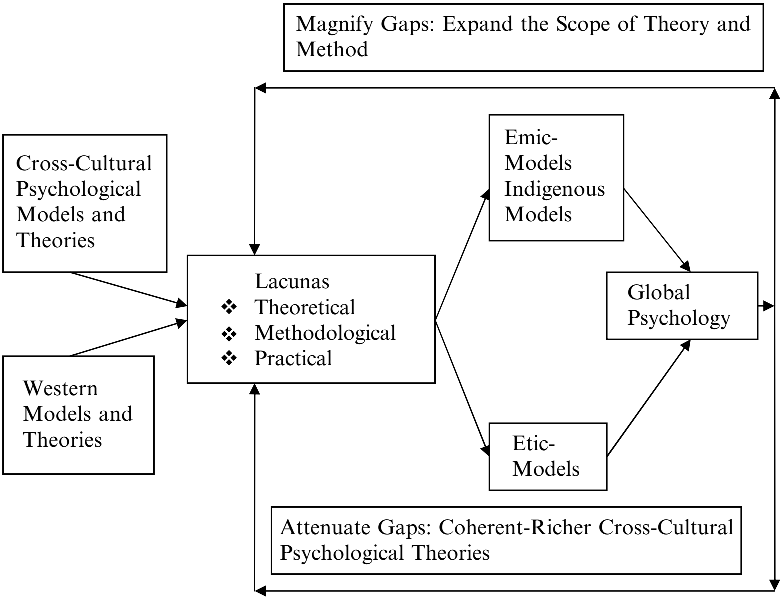


Figure 1.2 Two approaches to global psychological research

Leung and Bond (social axioms, 2004, 2009), and others. These theoretical developments or methodological innovations, especially in the development of measurement scales, do not seem to add much value to indigenous psychologies or perspectives. Following the indigenous model-building path often raises questions, magnifies gaps in the literature, and expands the scope of development of theory and method (Bhawuk, 1999, 2003a; Hwang, 2004; Yang, 1997). Thus, the two approaches seem to add different kinds of value to the understanding of global psychology, and both must be nurtured. Since the first is the dominant research paradigm, it is the second one that needs additional attention from cultural and cross-cultural researchers (Figure 1.2).

The ubiquitous nature and the dominance of the Western or cross-cultural pseudoetic research paradigm became transparent to me at a conference in India. I asked a researcher at a conference in India to translate the word commitment in Hindi, the researcher's mother tongue, and he was flabbergasted. He simply could not translate the word. It was not a happy situation since he had spent 4 years conducting research on organizational commitment using Western scales, but he could not even translate the construct in an Indian language! We can find other such examples. As was noted in the discussion of research on ingratiation behavior and leadership, there is much scope to synthesize indigenous ideas in organizational psychology in India. Therefore, I propose that researchers engaged in psychological research declare a moratorium on pseudoetic research in Indian organizations. The risks of mindlessly copying the West can be seen in the bulk of organizational research, and organizational commitment is a glaring example.

Indigenous models can be developed by starting from cultural insight. India has a rich scholarly tradition, and psychology can take advantage of this cultural wealth. The *bhagavadgItA* can be a source of much psychological insight to study cognition, emotion, and behavior, and there are many other texts from which researchers can borrow ideas. The rich folk wisdom should also be tapped, and a study of proverbs, for example, could provide a good starting point. We need to enrich our psychological understanding of humankind by building indigenous models, especially since we now live in a forever shrinking global village. Indigenous psychology has tremendous potential to contribute to global psychology (Marsella, 1998).

It should be noted that, although counterintuitive, fluency in English language is a major disadvantage that Indian and other researchers face. Since most Indian researchers are fluent in English, they think in English, and much of the Western literature, therefore, makes sense to them. This gets further compounded by the desire to succeed by publishing in international journals, which require building on the Western ideas.[10] Thus, they never pause to think if the concepts would make sense to the masses. It will help if psychology students were required to study the classic texts and folk literature to develop sensitivity to indigenous ideas. Managers have to manage employees, and a majority of these employees come from the Indian hinterland, which are villages where the Indian culture is still quite well preserved. As noted earlier, there is an infinite supply of culture in large populous countries like India and China. And it is this infinite supply of traditional culture that makes indigenous approach to research in psychology an imperative for scholarship.

[10] A colleague from Turkey told me that reviewers of a major American journal rejected her paper because her data were from Turkey. The same study with US data would be acceptable, but with data from Turkey was not acceptable. Such restrictive gate keeping by reviewers and editors forces researchers to stay with the Western constructs and to follow the pseudoetic research paradigm.

Chapter 2
Spirituality in India: The Ever Growing Banyan Tree

Comparing Western and Indian knowledge, Rolland (1960, p. 91) described Western knowledge as the "science of facts" and spirituality as "the science of the soul, a peculiarly Indian science." A major difference between philosophy and spirituality, or for that matter religion and spirituality, is that spirituality, as practiced in India, has an action bias over and above cognitive (thinking or thoughts) or value (considering something important) concerns. Spirituality has been valued in the Indian culture from time immemorial, and it is no surprise that many innovations in the field of spirituality originated in India. Since people strive to excel in areas that are compatible with their cultural values, India has seen the emergence of many geniuses in the field of spirituality even in the modern times. I combine two qualitative methods, historical analysis and case analysis, to document how spirituality is valued in India, and much like a banyan tree, how it continues to grow even today. An examination of the life of the list of spiritual gurus presented in the chapter shows that they were all practitioners, and they practiced what they preached. Also, the case analysis shows that Ramakrishna was a practitioner, and both the Maharishi and Rajneesh recommended daily practice of meditation.

A historical evolution of spirituality in India is traced by generating a list of spiritual gurus over the last 2,500 years by using published sources both in the West (Kroeber, 1944) and in India. Following this historical analysis, three case studies are presented to illustrate that spirituality is valued even today in India, and this culture continues to produce eminent spiritual gurus. The innovations made by three spiritual gurus in the last 100 years are presented to make the argument that these people were truly geniuses, since they offered thoughts or techniques that were unheard of in human civilizations hitherto, either in India or elsewhere. This demonstrates that Indian culture not only emphasized spirituality in the past but continues to do so.

Ramakrishna Paramhansa (1836–1886) practiced Hinduism, Islam, and Christianity and boldly declared that all religions lead to the same end. He might be the first person in human civilization to have attempted such an integration of religious beliefs by practicing it rather than only giving it lip service, which is often done by liberal intellectuals all over the world today. Maharishi Mahesh Yogi

D.P.S. Bhawuk, *Spirituality and Indian Psychology*, International and Cultural Psychology,
DOI 10.1007/978-1-4419-8110-3_2,

(1917–2008) presented Transcendental Meditation (TM) as a universal technique, which allows people of all religions to practice meditation. Perhaps the most significant innovation that the Maharishi made is the scientification of meditation, an idea not attempted hitherto. And Osho Rajneesh (1931–1990) presented his theory, "From sex to super consciousness," which shook the Indian culture, but also found many followers both locally and globally. Though the originality of this approach could be debated, its revival in modern times and in a modern form cannot be disputed. The objective of this chapter is not to present new information on Ramakrishna, Maharishi Mahesh Yogi, and Osho Rajneesh, since many books have been written about these spiritual gurus. Instead, a summary of their life and their unique achievements is presented to highlight their creative geniuses.

Historical Analysis

India's emphasis on spirituality can be ascertained from the productive constellations reported in Kroeber's (1944) work; it received the singular distinction of being a culture that has the longest duration of evolution of philosophy, from 100 to 500, and 600 to 1000 AD (see p. 683). If we add the period of Buddha, Mahavira, and Samkhya around 500 BC, and the period of medieval *bhakti* Movement from 1100 to 1800 (reported in the literature section in Kroeber's work, from Jayadeva to Lallu Ji Lal, see page 482–483), we can see that in India, more than in any other culture, spirituality has been emphasized for almost 2,500 years of recorded history.

Emphasis on spirituality in India can also be seen in the list of spiritual masters that was generated using various sources (Bhattacharya, 1982; Lesser, 1992; Narasimha, 1987; Sholapurkar, 1992; Singh, 1948). Most of the sources used are by Indian scholars, and the list was further corroborated by Kroeber's (1944) work. The long list of spiritual masters over 2,500 years does support the idea that India emphasizes spirituality (see Table 2.1). A closer examination of the list shows that these spiritual gurus came from all castes and were not limited to the caste of Brahmin, the caste that had the privilege of being a teacher or a guru. They also came from many religions, e.g., Hinduism, Buddhism, Jainism, Sikhism, Islam, and Sufism. Also, they were not limited to any particular part of India; they came from east, west, south, and north. Therefore, it could be argued that spirituality is an Indian cultural phenomenon.

An analysis of Kroeber's (1944) compilation shows that in the Indian sample 49% of the geniuses were spiritual geniuses compared to 33% for literature, 10% for science, and 8% for philology. If we combine the names in Table 2.1 to those in Kroeber's compilation, the percentage of spiritual geniuses jumps to 65% compared to 23% for literature, 7% for science, and 5% for philology. Analyzing the list of thousands of geniuses in China (Simonton, 1988) and Japan (Simonton, 1996), Simonton found that the number of celebrities in each of the categories varied tremendously. For example, of the two thousand plus Japanese geniuses studied, 14% came from politics, 13% from painting, 10% from poetry, 8% from war,

Table 2.1 List of Indian saints and spiritual gurus

Period	Name	Period	Name
BC 600	Charvaka	1608–1681	Ram Das
BC 590–510	Mahavira	1608–1888	Mahatma Tailang Swami
BC 560–480	Buddha	1620	Singa Ji
BC 400	Jaimini	1628–1700	Sant Bahina Bai
BC 400	Kanada	1666–1708	Guru Gobind Singh
BC 400	Gautama	1703–1810	Saint Bulleshah
BC 200	Sant Tiruvalluvar	1759–1809	Gauribai
AD 600	Nammalwar	1767–1847	Shri Tyagraj
600–680	Tirunavukkararavasu or Acharya Appar	1772–1833	Raja Ram Mohan Roy
660	Shri Manickavasagar or Maikkavachkar	1781–1830	Sri Swami Narayan
700	Bhakta Kamban	1785–1867	Gunateetanand Swami
788–828	*Adi zankara*	1800–1880	Swami Samarth Akkalkot
800	Bhaskara	1801–1882	Jalaram Bapa
824–924	Acharya Nathmuni	1817–1905	Maharishi Devendranath Tagore
900	Gorakhnath	1817	Manik Prabhu
953–1053	Yamunacharya	1818–1878	Soamiji of Agra
1017–1137	Ramanujacharya	1824–1883	Maharishi Dayanand Saraswati
1100	Akka Mahadevi	1828–1895	Shri Lahiri Mahashaya
1105–1167	Saint Basaweswar	1829–1897	Bhagatjee Maharaj
1135–1229	Khwaja Moinuddin Chisti	1835–1918	Sai Baba of Shirdi
1138*–1162	Nimbark	1836–1886	Ramakrishna
1172–1265	Baba Fariduddin Shakarganj	1839–1903	Babaji of Beas
1186	Baba Qutubuddin Bakhtiyar Kaki	1838–1884	Keshav Chundrasen
1173–1266	Shaikh (or Baba) Farid	1840	Tari Gonda Venkamba
1199–1278	Madhavacharya	1840–1905	Ananda Mohan Bose
1200	Jayadeva	1847–1925	Shirnath Shastri
1238–1356	Hazrat Nizzamuddin Aulia	1853–1920	Mata Sharda Devi
1253–1325	Amir Khusro	1853–1924	Shri Chattampi Swamikal
1270–1350	Nam deo	1855–1928	Shri Narayan Guru
1272–1293	Sant Jnaneshwar	1858–1948	Sawan Singhji Huzur Maharaj
1290–1381	Sharafuddin Maneri	1863–1902	Swami Vivekananda
		1865–1951	Brahmasvaroop Shastrijee Maharaj
1308–1399	Lal Didi of Kashmir (Lalleshwari)	1872–1950	Shri Aurobindo Ghosh
1314–1384	Syed Ali Hamadani		
1360–1470	Ramananda	1873–1906	Ram Tirtha
1372–1450	Shri Potana	–1910	Gjanan Maharaj of Shegaon

(continued)

Table 2.1 (continued)

Period	Name	Period	Name
1377–1439	Sheikh Nuruddin Nand Rishi	1878–1973	The Mother of Aurobndo Ashram
1400–1499	Shri Narsimh Saraswati	1879–1950	Bhagwan Raman Maharishi
1400*	Sena Nhavi	1886–1940*	Shri Narayan Maharaj of Kedagon
1440–1518	Kabir	1887–1963	Swami Shivanand Saraswati
1440	Ravidas (Raidas)	1889–1950	Swami Sahajanand Saraswati
1449–1569	Shankar Deva Vaishnaite	1892–1971	Brahmasvaroop Yogijee Maharaj
1469–1538	Guru Nanak	1893–1952	Paramhansa Yoganand
1479–1531	Shri Vallabhacharya	1894–	Sadhu Sundar Singh
1479–1584	Soor Das	1895–1986	J. Krishnamurthy
1482	Shri Purandar Das	1896–1982	Anandamoi Ma
1485–1534	Shri Chaitanya Mahaprabhu	1896–1977	Swami Prabhupad (ISKCON)
		1897–1981	Shree Nisargadatta Maharaj
1506–1552	St. Francis Xavier	1904–1963	Thakur Shri Abhiram Paramhans
1532–1624	Tulsidas	1908–1982	Swami Muktanand
1533–1599	Eknath Maharaj	1916–1993	Swami Chinmayananda
1544–1603	Dadu	1921–	Pramukhswamijee Maharaj
1547–1614	Meerabai	1931–1990	Osho Rajneesh
1588–1644	Shri Narayan Bhattatiri	1917–2008	Maharishi Mahesh Yogi
1607–1649	Tukaram	1926–	Sai Baba

* Indicates that the year is an estimate.

5% from each of economics and religion, 4% from philosophy, and only 2% from each of sculpture, ceramics, and medicine. The category spirituality did not even appear and might have been merged with philosophy and religion. In the Chinese sample there were only 44 recluses, who could be considered spiritual, in the 3,000 years of the Chinese history.

Simonton (1996) also suggested that one of the limitations of his study was that the findings might not apply to a civilization that has been dominated by a certain configuration throughout its history. It could be argued that the Indian culture has been dominated by spirituality, and, therefore, this domain-specific configuration might dominate any systemic or cross-domain configurations in that culture. Evidence of such a dominance can be seen in the domain of music and dance where the control of *prANa* (i.e., breath) and *dhyAna* (i.e., focus) is considered critical to be accomplished in Indian music and dance.

Embedded in the table are many clusters of gurus, and often the succession of gurus ends in a person who was an advanced spiritual master from his or her childhood, somebody who needed no initiation from another human being. For example, Paramhansa Yoganand was the disciple of Shree Yukteswar, who was a disciple of Shree Lahiri Mahashya, who was a disciple of Babajee. Babajee is considered an *avatAr*, and he did not need to be initiated by another human being. His spiritual knowledge was spontaneous, and he revived the practice of kriyA yoga, which is attributed to Lord kRSNa. Similarly, the Swami Narayan tradition traces the order of the gurus to Shree Neelkantha (from Neelkantha to Gunateetanand, to Bhagatjee, to Shastrijee, to Yogijee to the current guru Shree Pramukha Swamijee). Though Neelkantha took initiation from Swami Ramananda, he is viewed as an *avatAr* since he left home at an age of 7 and was already an advanced spiritual master when he met Swami Ramanand. As the story is told in this tradition, Swami Ramanand was waiting for Neelkantha to come to him so that he could pass on his heritage and *ashram* to him. Neelkantha is worshipped by the followers of Swami Narayan as the incarnation of God. Prabhupadajee similarly traces his spiritual roots to Lord kRSNa in his book, *bhagavadgItA As It Is* (Prabhupad, 1986, p. 34), and this list includes celebrated historical spiritual gurus like Lord Chaitanya as well as mythological spiritual gurus like Narada.

Case Analyses

In this section, as mentioned earlier, three cases are presented to support the idea that spirituality is valued in India even today, and spiritual masters are making innovations that reflect cultural configurations.

Ramakrishna[1]: One God, Different Paths

The most famous story about Ramakrishna, perhaps, is the dialogue with his favorite disciple, Narendra Dutta, who later became Swami Vivekananda. Vivekananda asked a question that was unthinkable from the traditional Hindu perspective: "Have you seen God?" Never in Indian history did a disciple ask his Guru this question – not in the *UpaniSads*, not in the *Ramayana* or the *Mahabharata*, not in the *Puranas*! The question came from a Western rationalist perspective. It behooved the philosophy student that Narendra was to ask such a question. The answer was even more unique. Ramakrishna replied calmly, without qualification: I see him as I see you, only far more intensely. But even that did not convert the rationalist Vivekananda, then Narendra Dutta, who took a rather tortuous path to

[1]The biographical sketch of Ramakrishna draws from the work of Rolland (1960), Isherwood (1965), and Muller (1898).

accepting Ramakrishna as his Guru. Ramakrishna's unique spiritual journey, what he was able to do in a short life of 50 years (February 18, 1836, to August 16, 1886) and what has perhaps never even been attempted in human history, points to his contribution to the field of spirituality. Without vanity, he proclaimed:

> I have practiced all religions, Hinduism, Islam, Christianity, and I have also followed the paths of the different Hindu sects... I have found that it is the same God toward whom all are directing their steps, though along different paths. You must try all beliefs and traverse all the different ways once (Rolland, 1960, p. 79).

The following is a brief account of the man and his achievements. Ramakrishna was born in the village of Kamarpukur, Bengal, India, in a middle class Brahmin family. His given name was Gadadhar Chattopadhyaya. His father, Khudiram, and mother, Chandra, were both religious people, and there are many stories about Ramakrishna's birth that suggest that he may well have been an *avatAr* (i.e., incarnation of a deity).

Ramakrishna had two brothers and sisters, and he was the fourth of the five children his parents had. He was a healthy child who did not suffer any sickness. He was restless and obstinate. He did many things that were proscribed, but did not hide the fact that he had done it, and if given a clear explanation, would refrain from doing it. He was good with drawing, clay molding, singing, and drama, but could not apply himself to arithmetic. Ramakrishna did not enjoy school and escaped whenever he could. Even later, when he was 16 years old and his brother asked him to come and study with him at the Sanskrit school that he ran in Calcutta, he decided to pursue his spiritual journey rather than join his brother at the school. He could understand but not speak in Sanskrit.

Ramakrishna saw death in the family in his childhood. His father passed away when he was 7, and his older brother's wife passed away when he was 13. His eldest brother, Ram Kumar, who was instrumental in bringing him to Calcutta, and landing him the priesthood at the *dakSiNesvar* temple, also passed away when he was only 20 years old.

He took the place of his brother as the priest of the *dakSiNesvar* temple, where he spent most of the remainder of his life. Rani Rasmani, a rich woman of a lower caste, built this temple. The temple still stands unchanged today with the idol of *kAlI* the goddess of *zakti* that Ramakrishna worshipped. He was married in 1859, at the age of 23, to Saradamani Mukhopadhyaya, to help divert his spiritual pursuits by putting on the yoke of a householder, a strategy that, of course, did not work at all. He treated his wife like a sister, and they developed a guru–disciple relationship over the years.

Ramakrishna had his first spiritual experience when he was 6 years old as he was playfully walking in the fields munching on puffed rice. He saw the sky get covered with black cloud, and then at the edge of the cloud appeared a flock of white cranes that passed over his head. He lost consciousness. Perhaps nobody took the event seriously, until it happened again when he was 8 years old. During the celebrations of *zivarAtri*, a festival in which Lord ziva is worshipped, he experienced a similar ecstasy while enacting the role of ziva. In the presence of the whole village that

was watching the play, he started crying and then became unconscious.[2] From this time on, his ecstasies became more frequent.

Ramakrishna's ecstasies grew in their strength and duration during his priesthood at the *kAlI* temple. And finally one day he was ready to kill himself, if he did not get a *darzan* of *kAlI*, and he "saw an ocean of the Spirit, boundless, dazzling (Rolland, 1960, p. 33)." Thus, he became conscious of the presence of *kAlI* in the depths of his being. The shock of this encounter took its toll, and he was not able to control his eyes, body, or mind. He did not close his eyes. He did not eat. Drops of blood oozed through his skin. He was nothing but a madman to those who did not know. But those who knew him, like Mathur Babu, the manager and patron of the temple (he was the son-in-law of Rani Rasmani), he was an *avatAr*. Apparently, one day when Mathur Babu was observing Ramakrishna pacing the temple grounds, he saw *kAlI* walking toward him, and ziva walking away from him. Ramakrishna's nephew took care of his bodily needs. To help him recuperate from this shock, he was sent to his village, and that is when he was married. But nothing helped. He returned to the temple and remained in this state of punctuated ecstasies for another 2 years until Bhairavi Brahmani came to guide him and became his first formal guru. Ramakrishna was 25 then.

Bhairavi was from a noble Brahmin family of Bengal. She was a devotee of *viSNu* and highly educated and learned in the *bhakti* as well as *tAntrik* texts, something rather unusual for women to achieve. When they met the first time, the two established mother and son relationship instantly, as if they had known each other for a long time. She helped him deal with his self-realization, his ecstasies. She also helped him practice all the 64 principal *tantra* books. He was unusually gifted in that he was able to achieve the results of each of the various practices, which takes years and sometimes a lifetime for most people, in about 3 days. As he shared with his disciples later, he never got attached to these achievements, which are hurdles in spiritual advancement (Nikhilananda, 1977).

Bhairavi called a meeting of scholars to recognize Ramakrishna as an *avatAr*. Using the criteria enumerated in the scriptures, the two experts unanimously agreed that he was indeed an *avatAr*. Interestingly, Ramakrishna himself disliked being called an *avatAr*. Years later, 2 days before *mahAprayANa* (or departing the world at will), he obliged Vivekananda and grudgingly accepted that he indeed was an *avatAr*: "He who was Rama and who was kRSNa is now Ramakrishna in this body lying here (Rolland, 1960, p. 273)."

Ramakrishna learned about the *advaita vedAnta* philosophy under another guru, Tota Puri, sometime around the end of 1865. He had already spent about 10 years

---

[2] According to Isherwood (1965), this was the third incident. The second incident took place when Ramakrishna was going to the *vizAlAkSi* temple with some women from his village. As they were all singing, his body stiffened, and tears started to pour from his eyes. Sprinkling water would not bring the boy to normal consciousness. When the women started to pray goddess *vizAlAkSi*, Ramakrishna returned to normal consciousness. The second spiritual experience was important chronologically because it happened after about a year of the first one. The frequency and duration of these ecstasies increased as he grew older.

as a devotee of *KAlI*, 5 years struggling by himself, and about 5 years under the guidance of Bhairavi. The highest state of meditation, n*irvikalpa samAdhi*, was not easy even for Ramakrishna. He had no problem detaching his mind from all worldly objects, but it was impossible, at least in the beginning, for him to detach his mind from *KAlI*, his beloved deity. With the help of Tota Puri, he overcame that hurdle, and the very first time he entered *nirvikalpa samAdhi*, he was in it for 3 days. Tota Puri had to bring him to normal consciousness by chanting a *mantra*. Tota Puri was surprised to see Ramakrishna achieve n*irvikalpa samAdhi* in a short time, because it had taken him 40 years of discipline and practice to achieve the same state. Thus, Ramakrishna achieved a unique distinction of successfully following the two major spiritual traditions of Hinduism, the path of devotion and the path of knowledge. He extended it further in the next 10 years by practicing other religious faiths.

During the next year he embraced Islam, following an initiation from a Muslim acquaintance, Mr. Govinda Roy. To follow Islam, he lived outside the temple, and renounced his favorite goddess, *KAlI*. He dressed like a Moslem, ate Moslem food, offered the *Namaz* five times daily, and repeated the name of Allah. He was in this mood for 3 days. He was visited by the prophet ("a radiant personage with grave countenance and white beard appeared to him and then passed into his body," Rolland, 1960, p. 75). This marked his experience with Islam.

Seven years after following the path of Islam, toward the end of 1874, Mr. Shambhu Charan Mallik, himself a Hindu, read the Bible to Ramakrishna. Thus, Ramakrishna started to think about Jesus. He became attached to a picture of Virgin Mary with the child Jesus sitting on her lap, which was hanging in the garden house of the temple. The picture led him to a trance, which so overpowered him that even calling for help from goddess *kAlI* did not help him. His thoughts and consciousness were filled with the Christian saints, and he remained in a "Christian mood" for 3 days. On these days, he did not go into the temple and did not worship or think of *kAlI*. On the third day, he saw Jesus, who embraced him and then passed into his body. This marked his Christian experience. It is no surprise that Rolland (1960) called him the "younger brother of Christ" (Rolland, 1960, p. 13). Ramakrishna kept a picture of Christ in his room, along with other Hindu deities, and burnt incense before it in the morning and in the evening, a part of the Hindu tradition of offering daily prayers.

An analysis of Ramakrishna's life reveals that he started experiencing ecstasies from his childhood, and as Rolland (1960) noted, it was only because he was in India where spiritual ecstasies are not uncommon that he was not treated for schizophrenia or some other mental illness. It was also easier for him to find mentors like Bhairavi and Tota Puri, without whose guidance he might not have achieved his full potential. His family supported his spiritual strivings, and without the support of his wife, nephew, and brother, who all took care of him in times of his greatest physical need, it might have been difficult for him to survive, let alone become a self-realized person. His wife even agreed to allow him to be a celibate, and thus gave up her privilege to be a mother. Clearly, these people were not trained care providers, and derived their skills and understanding from the cultural milieu. Acceptance and understanding of spirituality in the Indian culture played a crucial role in Ramakrishna's life, and it might have been difficult, if not outright impossible, for his genius to flourish in another culture.

His lack of aptitude for arithmetic and lack of fluency in Sanskrit, or any language other than his mother tongue, Bengali, even raises doubts about the concept of general intelligence (G) and its correlation to "spiritual intelligence." Though Ramakrishna shunned the traditional school system, he later showed great desire and ability to learn from people of all faiths, and scholars have called him "the illiterate genius" (Rolland, 1960, p. 11). Also, his favorite disciple, Swami Vivekananda, was known for his intellectual prowess, and according to one report he could memorize tens of pages from a book in one reading (Muller, 1898). Thus, spiritual geniuses may possess quantitative and verbal skills, but they are not necessary skills. This suggests a need to reconceptualize creativity and intelligence, especially for the domain of spirituality. It should be noted that such a conclusion could not be arrived at following the mainstream Western research paradigm, thus highlighting the immense value of research in indigenous psychology.

Creativity is usually defined as a process leading to a novel idea, product, or behavior (Amabile, 1983). In the problem-solving domain it is defined as a process that leads to the unique solution of problems. In view of this definition of creativity, Ramakrishna, indeed, demonstrated creative genius in bridging all religions by practicing each of them. He may very well be the first, if not the only, person to practice the major religions of the world to come to the conclusion that they lead to the same God. His contribution to humanity is particularly significant for the world after the bombing of the twin towers of the World Trade Center on September 11, 2001. Clearly, Islam is not to be blamed for the incident of September 11, and no religion should be blamed for any act of terrorism, because we know from the life of Ramakrishna that all religions lead to the same God. Nobel Laureate Rolland (1960) described Ramakrishna's work as a symphony that was "...built up of a hundred different musical elements emanating from the past," which contained "...within itself the labor of generations (p. 13)." Ramakrishna, according to Rolland, was "the consummation of 2,000 years of the spiritual life of 300 million people (p. 13)." This clearly supports the argument that culture shapes geniuses and their achievements and again points to the need for research in indigenous psychology.

Ramakrishna's biographical sketch further supports the Kroeberian and Simontonian paradigm that geniuses emerge in cultural configuration. Of course, if Ramakrishna were born a few hundred years before his time, he could not have been exposed to Islam. It could be argued that nineteenth-century India was mellowed by centuries of *bhakti* Movement, which made acceptance of other religious beliefs easier for Ramakrishna. The reason Buddha did not integrate the *vedic* ideas in his teachings or *Adi Shankara*[3] did not integrate Buddhist ideology in his teaching could be attributed to the ethos of the time or the cultural configurations that Kroeber and Simonton have discussed. It is likely that integration was considered second-tier and departure from tradition was valued by the culture in earlier times.

---

[3]*Adi Shankara* (788–828) was a spiritual master, who was responsible for the revival of *vedic* principles in India. He is credited for creating institutions like the four centers named after him, which promote Hindu way of life in India.

Ramakrishna's case shows how geniuses are influenced by the *zeitgeist*, which was defined by Boring (1955, p. 101) as "the sum total of social interaction as it is common to a particular period and a particular locale," i.e., *zeitgeist* is thought that is shaped by culture. According to Boring (1955), *zeitgeist* facilitates creativity in science, and we can see from the above case that this can be extended to spirituality, and perhaps to other fields of research. Thus, we see an interaction between geniuses and the *zeitgeist*, each influencing the other.

Maharishi Mahesh Yogi[4]: Bridging Science and Spirituality with TM

Mahesh Prashad Varma, who later became Maharishi Mahesh Yogi, was born in Jabalpur, Madhya Pradesh, on January 12, 1917. He hailed from a comfortably well-off family and was the third of four children. He got a college degree from Allahabad University in mathematics and physics. However, he renounced the world at an early age of 23 and dedicated himself to the service of his spiritual master, Swami Brahmananda Saraswati, the *Adi zankara* of Jyotir-Math in the Himalayas. Under the supervision of his guru, he spent many years in meditation in the conducive atmosphere of the Himalayas. Later he became the private secretary of the *Adi zankara* and was sent to lecture on the scriptures to different locations.

After Swami Brahmananda passed away in 1953, the Maharishi spent 2 years at the Gyan Mandir temple in Uttar Kashi, a small town in the Himalayas. He practiced *mauna* (or silence) and meditation. Following this rigorous practice of meditation, he left the Himalayas to visit Southern India where there were many devotees of his guru and some of them had established the *Adhyatmic Vikas Mandal* (the Society for Spiritual Development) in the city of Alleppey.

The Maharishi had his first public appearance in October 1955 at the conference, and he made his impact by connecting science and spirituality:

> Electrons and protons of the modern science, seen through the Indian system of analysis of the universe, are manifestations of *agni-tatva* and *vAyu-tatva* combined. The energy of the electrons and protons is due to the *agni-tatva* and motion in them is due to *vAyu-tatva*. Thus, we find the present day science has reached up to *vAyu-tatva* in the field of analysis of the universe (Mahesh Yogi, 1955, p. 62).

The Maharishi explained the other *tatvas* (elements) as *agni* (fire), *vAyu* (air), *AkAz* (sky), *aham* (self), *mahat* (soul), and *prakRti* (nature); and *brahman* (formless God)-*tatva* as the very cause of all these *tatvas*. He argued that the meditation technique that his guru presented would help achieve *Sat-Cit-Ananda*, and implied that spirituality was superior to science, which dealt with the lower level of *tatvas*. It should be noted that unless we define elements differently, or that the Maharishi

[4]The biographical sketch of Maharishi Mahesh Yogi draws from Forem (1973), Roth (1987), Chopra (1988), and Mason (1994).

was talking metaphorically, none of the *tatvas* would qualify as elements in the regular scientific definition. The Maharishi's desire to connect spirituality and science can be seen in his early presentation.

In that meeting the Maharishi attracted the attention of many people by categorically stating that *om* should not be chanted by householders, since it would increase renunciation and detachment, which are not the goals of regular householders. The householders could also achieve spiritual goals without leading the lifestyle of a monk. Here, he was stating what Buddha said 2,500 years ago, but it all sounded new.

The Maharishi propounded his philosophy as follows: Attachment results from thoughts. Therefore, we need to go beyond thoughts. To go beyond thoughts, we need to regularly chant a *mantra*.[5] Again, there was nothing new in the method, since part of getting initiated by a guru is receiving a personal *mantra*, and chanting of the *mantra* helps rest the mind, leading to detachment. His early genius lay in reaching a large number of people or disseminating his technique to the world.

Following the success of this conference, the Maharishi started organizing meditation camps in big cities like Bombay, Calcutta, as well as other cities. He even used mass initiation, a rather unusual and nontraditional practice. Following the success of the camps, he started establishing meditation centers across India, and 25 were opened in the very first year. He called it the Spiritual Regeneration of the world Movement (SRM). He took the movement to Burma, Thailand, Malaysia, Singapore, Hong Kong, Hawaii, and San Francisco, during 1958–1959. He started off by giving free lessons but later charged a fee in the USA to enable him to raise funds for the establishment of a meditation center.

The Maharishi's genius lay in starting a worldwide spiritual movement by keeping the individual at the center stage. Twenty minutes in the morning before breakfast and 20 min in the evening before dinner would help a normal person to achieve bliss. He demonstrated a commitment to help humankind and over the span of almost 60 years attempted to reach out to as many people worldwide as possible by using a number of media and trained meditation teachers. He went on more than ten world tours, initiated more than 4 million people, and trained more than 40,000 teachers and initiators.

The Maharishi might have been the first person to bridge science and spirituality. In 1964, "deep meditation" became "transcendental deep meditation" or simply transcendental meditation. Serious academic research was started using people who practiced TM, and results were published in scientific journals (Benson, 1969; Wallace, 1970). The major findings were that oxygen consumption, heart rate, skin resistance, and electroencephalograph measurements showed significant difference within and between subjects. During meditation, oxygen consumption and heart rate decreased, skin resistance increased, and electroencephalograph showed changes in certain frequencies.

---

[5] The process of chanting a *mantra* begins when a spiritual guru initiates a person. Part of the initiation ritual includes the guru giving a *mantra* to the disciple, which the disciple keeps private and does not share with anybody. The guru acts like a mentor and guides the disciple on his or her spiritual journey.

Oxygen consumption decreased within 5 minute of starting meditation. Compared to sleeping condition, TM provided 5 percent more reduction in consumption of oxygen than what 6 to 7 hours of sound sleep could provide. There was a mean decrease in cardiac output of about 25 percent, whereas during sleep there was only a mean decrease in cardiac output of about 20 percent. The mean decrease in heart rate for the TM practitioners was five beats per minute. The skin resistance (measured by Galvanic Skin Resistance or GSR), which is a measure of relaxation (the higher the score the more relaxed subjects are), increased on the average by 250 percent during the practice of TM and went as high as 500 percent. Compared to this, during sleep GSR goes up by only 100 to 200 percent. Further, meditators were found to be less irritable than nonmeditators (Wallace, 1970). Finally, in TM practitioners, the regularity and amplitude of alpha waves were found to increase much more than what is found during sleep, the performance of TM meditators was superior to that of the Zen meditators in that they achieved the same result in a matter of weeks (Forem, 1973).

The credibility of TM as a science can be seen in its acceptance in schools, and Jerry Jarvis, a disciple of the Maharishi, taught the first course on the Science of Creative Intelligence at Stanford University in February 1970. In the 1980s, the Maharishi also presented experiments to demonstrate that meditators could levitate, and though this demonstration was very controversial; there were many doctors and scientists who thought that the demonstration did show the power of TM (Chopra, 1988).

Following findings that supported that TM could lead to reduction in crime, the Maharishi suggested that if one percent of the world population practiced meditation, they would carry the day for rest of humankind, and crime and violence would go down worldwide. This has been called the Maharishi Effect, which is similar to the principle of critical mass needed to achieve certain social change (Mason, 1994).

It is clear that the Maharishi dedicated his life to bridge science and spirituality. Experimental work that was started in the 1960s has now become a long tradition. The recent work by the faculty of the Maharishi University and others shows that research on TM continues to follow the experimental scientific approach and covers a wide variety of concepts and ideas related to consciousness and neuroscience (Anderson et al., 2008; MacLean et al., 1997; Rainforth et al., 2007; Travis & Pearson, 2000; Travis & Wallace, 1999). The Maharishi's fascination with science is not unusual considering that he studied physics in college. Emphasis on science is in our *zeitgeist*, and it is no surprise that the Maharishi encouraged his disciples to examine the effects of meditation on variables of interest to medical science. Of all the Indian traditions of spirituality, TM is the closest to being a science, thanks to all the empirical studies done with TM practitioners, and that is clearly the Maharishi's most significant contribution.

The Maharishi might be given credit for having started the wave of research and writing among Indologists who attempt to connect the *vedas* and the Indian philosophy to modern science or scientific thinking. For example, Murthy (1997) attempts to show how the *vedic* theory approximates the projections of earth

science and even derives methods of predicting earthquakes from the *vedas*. Vanucci (1994) examined the *vedic* perspectives on ecology and its relevance to contemporary worldview. Many researchers in philosophy have attempted to highlight the significance of the teachings of the *upaniSads* to modern scientific thought (Puligandla, 1997) and have attempted to show the compatibility of science, religion, and philosophy. Some Indologists have even attempted to show that mysticism is a corollary to scientific investigation (Prasad, 1995), and others have claimed that Hinduism laid the foundations of modern scientific search in cosmogony, astronomy, meteorology, and psychology (Iyengar, 1997). Thus, the Maharishi might be credited for starting the process of bridging science and spirituality, a field of study that may eventually gain much deserved respectability (Capra, 1975).

The Maharishi used mass initiation through his disciples, which was quite opposed to the tradition of a *guru* initiating a disciple personally. One could argue that the Maharishi was influenced by the age of mass production and applied it to spirituality. He even charged an initiation fee, driven by the need to create an organization. This decision was clearly influenced by his American disciples, which might not have happened if the Maharishi did not come to the West. Thus, one could argue that the Maharishi led to the commercialization of spirituality. The Maharishi also used the mass marketing techniques in expanding his mission and organization, which again shows the reciprocal relationship between geniuses and the *zeitgeist*, one influencing the other. Following the Maharishi, charging a fee for initiation has become almost a normal practice for Indian spiritual masters in the West, and most of them charge a fee for not only initiation but also for spiritual consultation. Their lectures are no longer free, and much like the other inspirational speakers in the United States, people pay to attend their lectures. Capitalism being an important element of our *zeitgeist*, such commercialization of spirituality is not surprising.

Osho Rajneesh[6]: Bridging Sex and *samAdhi*

Rajneesh was one of the most controversial spiritual masters that India has seen in the last century. He *is Bhagwan* (God) for his followers, “Osho, Never Born, Never Died; Only Visited This Planet Earth between December 11, 1931 to January 19, 1990” says his *samAdhi* stone. However, his critics think that he created a vicious cult around himself, which would slowly wither away, now that he is gone. Khushwant Singh, a Princeton-educated famous Indian journalist, at one time said that the best way to deal with Rajneesh was to ignore him. But he also said that Rajneesh was “the most original thinker that India has produced: the most erudite, the most clear-headed, and the most innovative.” Tom Robbins, an American novelist,

[6] The biographical sketch of Rajneesh draws from the author’s own readings of various published sources on Rajneesh and his work over the years, and Brecher (1993).

represents probably the majority of people who have bothered to read and think about what Rajneesh stood for. He wrote in the *Seattle Post Intelligencer*:

> I am not, nor have I ever been, a disciple of Bhagwan Shree Rajneesh, but I've read enough of his brilliant books to be convinced that he was the greatest spiritual teacher of the twentieth century – and I've read enough vicious propaganda and slanted reports to suspect that he was one of the most maligned figures in history (cited in Brecher, 1993, p. 396).

Born on December 11, 1931, in Kuchwada village, Madhya Pradesh, Rajneesh was the first of the eleven children of a merchant father and a traditional housewife. His siblings were born over 27 years, which was not that unusual for India at that time. He grew up in Gadarwara, a small town of 20,000 people, with his mother's parents. Little is reported about his early childhood, schooling, or spiritual inclination. He was a professor of philosophy at the University of Jabalpur, Madhya Pradesh, and again not much is reported about his academic achievements or his role as a traditional professor.

According to some sources, he did hang out by himself as a teenager and pursued a spiritual practice. He suffered the loss of a friend, a girl named Shashi, whom he particularly liked, and who, he said years later, returned to him as a disciple. This English woman, Christine Woolf, later became Ma Yoga Vivek. He attained enlightenment on March 21, 1952, at the age of 21 (Brecher, 1993). Interestingly, in everything that I had read about Rajneesh while studying engineering in India, never a mention was made about his enlightenment. Also, never did a disciple of Rajneesh mention to me, or people I know, about his enlightenment or early spiritual experiences.

Rajneesh started by lecturing about Mahavir, the Jain prophet, in the business circles of India, which grew in popularity over the years. He continued to appreciate Mahavir and Buddha as spiritual masters in his later years. He probably received more public attention through the media by criticizing Mahatma Gandhi, by calling him a politician, and also criticizing his practice of celibacy. These were the early years of Rajneesh's fame, and he went from being simply *Shree* Rajneesh (*Shree* is an honorific like Mister in English) to *Acharya* (spiritual master) Rajneesh. Books on various topics by him appeared at bookstores all over India.

Rajneesh shocked the Indian populace by linking sex to super consciousness in 1968. He became an instant star following his declaration that sex was not to be repressed, and through it people could get into *samAdhi*, the highest state of being in yoga. However, he was not direct in responding if he himself went into s*amAdhi* through sex. In fact, in one of his published lectures he suggested that one could bring any experience from his or her past lives, implying that his knowledge and experience about sex to *samAdhi* came that way. I think it would be impossible to be a guru in India where *brahmacarya* or celibacy is a minimum requirement to be a spiritual person and a guru. It is no surprise that the Maharishi used the title of *bAlbramhacAri* (i.e., celibate from childhood) for a long time, until he took the title of Maharishi. Another guru, Balyogeshwar, who enjoyed a huge following in the 1970s, quickly lost it when he married his American secretary, which clearly shows that spiritual gurus are valued for their celibacy in India. It should be noted that householders are also found to be gurus, but often in their senior years.

In 1969, Rajneesh prescribed a new method of meditation to his disciples called Dynamic Meditation. This was a four-step process. First, a practitioner would

involve in vigorous breathing for 15 minutes. Next, he or she would scream, cry, laugh, or jump up and down leading to a catharsis. After these two steps, the practitioner would contemplate on the question: Who Am I? This was to be done by keeping the fingers of the two hands interlocked and then by pushing the palms hard against each other. The final step was to be quiet and prayerful. I think this was a method of mediation that Rajneesh invented, since he did not give credit to anybody or any other source, unlike the Maharishi, who gave credit to his own guru for inventing Transcendental Meditation.

In 1971, Rajneesh decided to call himself Bhagwan Rajneesh, which was an important juncture in his life, since he chose not to be the Bertrand Russell of India, an *Acarya*, a teacher, and opted to start a new way of life, a cult. He started initiating his disciples. Following the initiation, the disciples wore saffron-colored robes or clothes, hung a *mAlA* with Rajneesh's picture in a locket, and went by a new name *swami* or *ma* such and such. Traditionally, *sannyAsis* (monks) take a new name to erase their personal history, wear saffron to let the world know that they have renounced the world, live on whatever they get by begging, and take a vow of *brahmacarya* or celibacy. Bhagwan Rajneesh's new *sannyAs* (or monkhood) differed from the tradition on all four counts. The Rajneeshees, as are his disciples often called, did not take the new name to erase personal history, continued to live where they did, and do what they did before getting initiation. They did wear the saffron color, but not to practice self-abnegation or for denying good clothes. They could wear expensive clothes, leather shoes, watches, jewelry, etc., which are all prohibited for the traditional Indian monks. They did not renounce the world or support themselves by begging in the streets. They also did not take the vow of celibacy. In fact, many of them indulged in indiscriminate sex and many got divorced and remarried. Of course, one could achieve s*amAdhi* through sex, according to the Bhagwan, and so celibacy did not fit with the new way of life he proposed for his disciples.

His ashram in Pune was visited by about 25,000 people every year during 1974–1978, and about 40,000 annually thereafter. He made international news during the late 1960s and through the 1970s and made a big impact on the youth in Europe. Interestingly, unlike other Indian gurus, he was one person who never went on a lecture tour abroad. All his disciples came to visit him in Pune.

He took a vow of silence on April 11, 1981. He was 50 years old. He left India for the USA in May 1981 and called India a dying civilization. He praised the USA for its openness and thriving modern culture and proclaimed that USA would be the spiritual leader of the world in the future. He changed his mind in less than 18 months.

Rajneesh was arrested for fraud in the USA on October 28, 1985, and following a plea bargain he was allowed to leave the USA without serving time. He was denied visa by 20 countries all over the world, and he returned to India in 1986. While in India, he took the title of *Osho*, and his journey from *Shree* Rajneesh, to *Acarya* Rajneesh, to *Bhagwan* Rajneesh, to *Osho* ended on January 19, 1990, at his Pune ashram.

It may be too early to say how Rajneesh's innovations in spirituality will weather the time, but to be fair about him we must concede that he did start a new way of life, gave a technique of meditation, and a theory that sex could lead to super consciousness.

He also revived the tradition of open criticism by indulging in the criticism of saints and ideas from all religions, which could be attributed to the modern Western influence on him.

It is quite plausible that Rajneesh's ideas on sex and meditation emerged from his interaction with his Western disciples or from reading about free sex in the Western countries. His model of dynamic yoga could have resulted from his desire to allow his Western disciples to express their emotion through dancing to Western tunes, or jumping, crying, and so forth. In his publications, a clear imprint of contemporary mass media could be seen in that his books had glossy covers and were generally packaged well. The titles of his books were also catchy, what would be labeled "sexy" in the United States, and were selected with a view to position them successfully in the market place. His ownership of 100 Rolls Royces and diamond studded cap earned him the limelight of television and the wrath of Ted Koppel on NightLine, a popular television (American Broadcast Corporation, or ABC) show in the United States. Thus, it is quite clear that Rajneesh's philosophy emerged from the ancient culture of India, but his expressions were shaped by the contemporary Indian and international cultures, i.e., by the global *zeitgeist.* It is quite unlikely that a guru such as him could have emerged in the past, when India was not open to the world. This further supports that culture has a role in shaping innovation and creativity, and that there is a reciprocal relationship between geniuses and *zeitgeist* in that the *zeitgeist* shapes geniuses, and geniuses in turn shape the *zeitgeist*.

Implications for Global Psychology

In this chapter, two theoretical arguments were examined to test the idea that culture plays a critical role in the shaping of creative behaviors. The first model was derived from Triandis's (1994) work, whereas the second model came from Simonton's (1996) work. Triandis (1994) presented a theoretical framework for studying human behavior in the context of culture and ecology. He suggested that both the ecology and the history of people in a certain region shape culture. Culture in turn shapes human personality through socialization in its own unique ways, and personality determines human behavior. This is not to rule out individual differences, or to present culture as a tyrannical force, since humans shape culture, albeit slowly, as much as culture shapes humans. Adapting Triandis's framework, Bhawuk (2003a) argued that culture has a direct influence on creative behavior. Socialization is the mechanism through which cultures operate, and, therefore, it can be assumed to be implicit in a culture. He posited that depending on how a culture historically evolves in its ecological niche, people in that culture would invest their efforts in choosing creative behaviors. Though all kind of creative behaviors can be found in all cultures, it is my position that in some cultures people value creative behaviors in certain areas more so than in other cultures. And in India people seem to value spirituality so much that every domain of human endeavor seems to be shaped by spirituality to some degree.

The second theoretical argument is derived from the stream of research done by Simonton (1996), who also builds on Kroeber's works. Kroeber (1944) studied eight areas of human endeavors, i.e., philosophy, science, philology, sculpture, painting, drama, literature, and music across many literate societies, which included both Eastern and Western cultures. He concluded that since geniuses in many areas of human endeavor appear in clusters, and that they are distributed such that there is a rise and fall in the quality of what they produce, one could argue that "culture patterns" (p. 762) have a conceptual validity. Following Kroeber, Simonton (1996) concluded in a historiometric study of Japanese geniuses that genius is shaped by the cultural configuration. He found that both domain-specific and systemic (i.e., cross-domain) configurations determine how a genius or eminent achiever would be placed historically, and that these configurations operate independently and may have different loci of influence.

In the Kroeberian paradigm, a cultural configuration was also found to reach its acme and exhaust itself over a period of time. On the contrary, spirituality and spiritual knowledge and practice have grown over the centuries in India leading to many innovations, supporting the thesis that cultures continue to produce geniuses in one or more areas of human endeavor that they particularly value, and that some cultural configurations may actually never exhaust themselves, if the domains for achievement are so valued. The current innovations discussed in the three case studies could also be used as an argument to support the idea that the Indian culture is not showing signs of exhaustion with respect to spirituality.

From the work of Simonton (1988, 1996) and Kroeber (1944), it is clear that culture plays an important role in the development of geniuses. These scholars have also called into question the Galtonian view of hereditary genius. Simonton (1988, 1996) has marshaled evidence in support of the Kroeberian configurations, and the Kroeberian or Simontonian (Simonton, 1984, 1994) proposition that geniuses appear in a local configuration, or new innovations are a result of the social situation, suggests that cultures develop specialized knowledge in certain areas. Therefore, it appears that culture moderates creative behavior. This perspective allows geniuses to have innate abilities, but postulates that culture moderates the channeling of the individual abilities to certain creative behaviors, i.e., geniuses put their creativity in domains that is valued in the culture.

It is also clear from the work of Kroeber and Simonton that there are differences in the numbers of geniuses found across various fields within a culture, which supports the argument that culture favors certain fields over others and the idea that a culture may indeed "specialize" in a certain domain of human behavior. Also, such differences among India, Japan, and China, which are all collectivist cultures, show how a culture theory like individualism and collectivism is unable to explain cultural variation in creativity, and there is a need to study behaviors in their cultural contexts. Research in indigenous psychology can enrich our understanding of how human behaviors are embedded in cultural contexts beyond what cross-cultural psychology can offer.

In the Western tradition of research, creativity has been a subject of much research internationally, leading researchers to talk about a creativity movement (Guilford, 1980). Much of the research in creativity has focused on intelligence and

personality (Barron & Harrington, 1981), problem solving (Osborn, 1953), genius (Simonton, 1984), organizational creativity (Amabile, 1988), how innovations are made in such domains as music and art (Meyer, 1967), and how creativity can be taught in schools (Raina, 1980). However, very little effort has gone into examining the influence of culture on creativity.

The analysis presented in this chapter shows that creativity in India is likely to be channeled in the field of spirituality, more so than in any other field. Two theoretical arguments were presented for studying the influence of culture on creativity. The historical analysis of growth of spirituality in India supported the model that ecology and history shape culture, which in turn influences creative behaviors. Considering that many of the masters have spent an extended period of time in the Himalayas, it is likely that this part of the Indian ecology influenced the growth of spirituality. It is plausible that the harsh climate in the Himalayas and the seclusion from civilization help mendicants in withdrawing their mind inward.

The case studies presented above support the argument that India continues to innovate in the field of spirituality even today. The Indian case presents preliminary evidence to support the idea that people in some cultures may value some aspect of human endeavor more than others, and thus culture moderates creative behaviors, or where geniuses will put their effort. This idea also finds support in the work of Simonton (1988, 1996), though he did not explicitly recognize this notion.

The historical analysis of growth of spirituality in India and the three case studies allows us to synthesize the two theoretical perspectives into a general model of culture and creativity. It is clear that culture provides the *zeitgeist* for creative behaviors and influences the area of creative behavior that geniuses in a culture choose. However, geniuses also go on to shape the *zeitgeist* and culture in the long term in a significant way. Thus, culture, *zeitgeist*, and genius have reciprocal relationships in shaping creative behaviors (Bhawuk 2003a; see Figure 2.1).

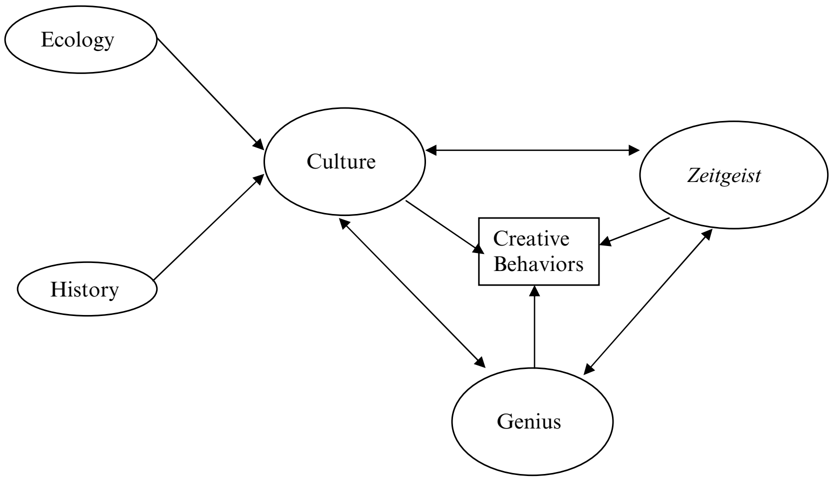


Figure 2.1 A general model of culture and creativity

Kroeber (1944) concluded that culture periodically allows or inhibits the realization of genius. I disagree with the inhibition argument and posit that what people value in a culture will *never* be inhibited; rather, culture will find a way around the prevalent context to deliver geniuses. The growth of Sufism in India reflects how spirituality emerged at the confluence of Hinduism and Islam in the medieval times. The growth in the travel of the spiritual gurus from the Himalayas, the traditional home of spiritual masters, to the Western countries may be another way Indian spirituality is struggling to assert itself in the global world, which is becoming increasingly materialistic. Following this line of reasoning, it could be argued that India will continue to produce spiritual geniuses (of which Maharishi Mahesh Yogi and Rajneesh discussed in this chapter are recent examples) and may even attract spiritual geniuses from other parts of the world in its fold of which Mother Teresa may be a recent example. Mother Teresa's Nobel Prize could be argued to be recognition of Indian spirituality, since she is the only Catholic saint to receive this prize, albeit in the form that the sponsors of the Prize can relate to.

Study of genius is only one way of looking at what a culture values and where it directs (or lures!) its best human resource. The influence of culture can also be seen at the mass level (Pandey, 1998), what Kroeber (1944) referred to as the unrealized geniuses ("…eminently superior individuals [who] never get into the reckoning of history …," p. 14). Spirituality can be seen to permeate the masses in India, and social life revolves around rituals that work as a symbolic reminder that people in this culture value spirituality. Small (e.g., weekly, fortnightly, and annual) and big (e.g., the *kUmbh melA,* or festival of kUmbh, which meets every 12 years and draws millions of people, both householders and monks, to a particular place) celebrations mark the Indian lifestyle. Everyday is dedicated to a deity and one can choose a deity to offer his or her prayer. It is no surprise that India is promoted for spiritual tourism.

Creativity is not captured by most of the culture theories (see Triandis & Bhawuk, 1997 for a succinct review of culture theories). It is not clear how creativity is related to individualism and collectivism or any of the other four dimensions presented by Hofstede (1980, 2001), i.e., masculinity versus femininity, uncertainty avoidance, long-term orientation or Confucianism, and power distance. The topic has generally not received much attention. Schwartz's (1992) universal value structure is the only one that touches upon creativity, but no effort has been made to use his theory to explain how culture shapes creativity. One could argue that creativity is a socio-cultural behavior, since creativity is applied to solve social problems or ecological problems that a culture faces. For example, when India was facing the British rule, many spiritual gurus addressed the issue of independence, and spirituality was channeled through the idea that service to the nation was part of spirituality. Since creativity can be construed as a socio-cultural behavior, as is apparent from the study of geniuses, it is important to study the influence of culture on creativity, else we may make the mistake of imposing the Western notion of creativity on other cultures and find people in other cultures not creative. Therefore, future research should examine the socio-cultural aspects of creativity.

We need to critically examine such sweeping generalizations as individualists are more creative than collectivists (Triandis, 1989), or the United States is good at inventing, whereas Japan is good at refining what is already invented (Hasegawa, 1995). It is plausible that people in different cultures value different outcomes, and hence, would encourage people to channel their creativity in different domains of behaviors.

Galton's Hereditary Genius Thesis, which conceptualizes genius as natural ability that is inherited, could be called into question using the argument that culture shapes the behavior of geniuses, which was presented in this chapter. The Indian case clearly challenges the hereditary genius thesis since a spiritual guru, traditional wisdom, as well as written scriptures have it, brings *saMskAra* (or innate abilities) from the *karma* of his or her own past life, and does not inherit from his or her biological parents. The examination of many recorded lineage of spiritual paths found in India, and captured in Table 2.1, also clearly contradicts the hereditary argument that Galton was able to demonstrate by using his long list of geniuses (Galton, 1869). The wide variation in the castes from which spiritual gurus have come also supports the traditional wisdom and contradicts the Galtonian view.

Research in indigenous psychology calls for adopting a diversity of methodologies, beyond the experimental method favored by Western psychology and social sciences. In this chapter, I followed all the four types of triangulation recommended for qualitative studies (Patton, 2002). I used "methods triangulation" (using more than one method, i.e., historical analysis and case method), "triangulation of source" (the table of saints was created by using many sources, and the cases were culled from more than one source), and "theory/perspective triangulation" (Triandis and Simonton's theoretical perspectives were synthesized to present the general model of culture and creativity). I also attempted "analyst triangulation" (Patton, 2002, p.556) by obtaining feedback from expert Indologists as well as Western-educated Indians to check if they would agree with my thesis. It was encouraging to find that they all agreed with my thesis that the Indian culture values spirituality and tends to direct geniuses to that domain.

I also used story telling, which has been accepted as a research tool, in narrating the stories of the three modern saints. Churchman (1971, p. 178) posited that "The Hegelian inquirer is a storyteller, and Hegel's Thesis is that the best inquiry is the inquiry that produces stories. The underlying life of a story is its drama, not its 'accuracy.' …But is storytelling science? Does a system designed to tell stories well also produce knowledge?" Stories can be used for amusement or for inquiring about basic human psychology, the desires, hopes, aspirations, fears, and so forth of people. Mitroff and Kilman (1978, p. 93) argued that stories "provide the hardest body of evidence" for researchers who they labeled the Conceptual Humanist, scientists who strive to increase the welfare of the most number of people. The three cases presented in the chapter give us a better understanding of the spiritual masters, and the wide difference between what they did and how they did, which could not be understood if we did not know their "stories."

It should be noted that since only humans are known to be spiritual in the animal kingdom, by neglecting this field of human endeavor, we may be actually leaving

out one of the most important aspects of being human from social science research. We can see that an attempt to understand why spirituality is valued in the Indian culture has led to the development of a general model of culture and creativity, which was unlikely to emerge if we followed the traditional Western research paradigm. Thus, research in indigenous psychology is likely to provide new paradigms and models that cannot be developed following the Western research tradition.

Chapter 3
Model Building from Cultural Insights

Introduction

Worldview is shaped by culture, and worldview directs the choice of conceptual models, research questions, and what we do professionally as a social scientist. This chapter examines the Indian culture vis-à-vis the culture of science. First the thesis that science has a culture is laid out by recognizing the defining attributes of science. Then the Indian worldview of who we are and what we should be doing is presented, followed by an examination of how this view interacts with the culture of science and what is called scientific thinking. Research on Transcendental Meditation (TM) is presented as a vehicle to examine the interaction between Indian cultural worldview and what is called scientific thinking. Implications of this interaction for studying human value system for cultural researchers and global psychology are discussed.

Worldview shapes what is "interesting" (Davis, 1971) to a great extent to a particular audience, what is considered a problem, what problem is interesting to study, and whether the goal of studying a problem is to analyze the problem, to analyze and solve the problem, or to analyze, solve, and implement the solution. Davis argued that all theories in social sciences become false over time, because they are simplifications of reality. He contended that some social science theories are less false than others. A theory is accepted in social science because it is "interesting," and they persist because of their interestingness, sometimes even after they are refuted. Davis' ideas are provocative, and they have great significance in that culture shapes what is considered interesting to a great deal. For example, though Western researchers do not consider spirituality an important research topic, it is of great interest to Asian scholars. Davis himself falls into the cultural trap when he concludes that all of the propositions that he examined were interesting only if they negated an existing one. This itself may be an aspect of Western culture. There lies the threat, even for cross-cultural researchers, in that they may make the mistake of studying concepts that are interesting (only!) from their own cultural perspective.

D.P.S. Bhawuk, *Spirituality and Indian Psychology*, International and Cultural Psychology, DOI 10.1007/978-1-4419-8110-3_3, © Springer Science+Business Media, LLC 2011

Research by Nisbett, Peng, Choi, and Norenzayan (2001) indicates that cognitive processes differ across cultures in fundamental ways (e.g., in the process-content distinction) because they are shaped by different social systems. Nisbett et al. found East Asians to be holistic in their causal analysis and dialectic in reasoning, whereas Westerners are more analytic and tend to use formal logic. Thus, worldview shapes our cognition, and culture shapes our worldview. Our worldview not only directs the choice of conceptual models, research questions, and methods of inquiry (Danziger, 1990), but also what we do professionally as social scientists. We are all also shaped by the culture of science, which is founded on rationality and empiricism. Cultural researchers, by virtue of being both scientists and cultural scholars, are well suited to examine the interaction between the culture of science and other indigenous cultures, and examine human behavior in the context of this dynamic interaction.

Culture of Science

Research methodology textbooks capture the most commonly shared understanding of how science is done. The acceptance of a textbook is dependent on how well it captures the common denominator of accepted practices. Therefore, research methodology textbooks can serve as a reliable source where we can find the distilled characteristics of science. One textbook (Rosenthal & Rosnow, 1991) noted Precision, Accuracy, and Reliability as three important characteristics of science. It is believed that science creates unambiguous knowledge by measuring facts with precision, describing findings accurately, and following procedures (or using instruments) that are reliable. These three characteristics serve as the foundation of experimental work in science as well as in the social science. This necessarily leads to the study of facts and events that are quantifiable, measurable, and manipulable. If precision, accuracy, and reliability cannot be used, no scientific study can be carried out.

When we discuss the basic tenets of science, or the culture of science, we must keep in mind that the culture of science, like any other culture has evolved over the years, and some of its elements were more prominent at some point in time and then lost their value to some other elements. Probably, the earliest conflict in value that scientists faced was about being objective versus subjective, about being impersonal versus personal. Through a long struggle, science has established objectivity and impersonalness as its basic tenets, though it has not been an easy journey, even for science.

> There has always existed set of antitheses or polarities, even though, to be sure, one or the other was at a given time more prominent – namely between the Galilean (or more properly, Archimedean) attempt at precision and measurement … and, on the other hand, the intuitions, glimpses, daydreams, and a priori commitments that make up half the world of science in the form of a personal, private, "subjective" activity (Holton, 1973, p. 375).

Scientists share a worldview, which assumes that "science rejects the indeterminate" (Bernard, 1957, p. 55). When it comes to methodology to solve difficult problems, they believe in breaking down the problem in smaller parts and studying them in pieces.

> When faced by complex questions, physiologists and physicians, as well as physicists and chemists, should divide the total problem into simpler and simpler and more and more clearly defined partial problems. They will thus reduce phenomena to their simplest possible material conditions and make application of the experimental method easier and more certain (Bernard, 1957, p. 72).

Thus, science rejects the indeterminate, and scientists are objective, impersonal, and believe that the world can be partitioned into smaller parts where the total is simply the sum of the parts. For this reason, scientists are criticized to be reductionists in their approach in examining and solving problems.

A scientific observation is only valid if two trained observers can come to the same conclusion, i.e., arrive at an agreement, about a phenomenon independent of each other. Campbell defined science as "the study of those judgments concerning which universal agreement can be reached (Campbell, 1952, p. 27)." Mitroff and Kilman (1978) argued that consensus building is one of the epistemic foundations of science, and they categorized scientists who believe in this as the "analytic scientist." They criticized this approach to science by raising questions about lack of agreement on the meaning of the terms: "judgment," "universal," "agreement," and "study." They posited that it was possible to have disagreement, yet do scientific studies in social science, and questioned why science could not be founded on disagreement. Criticism aside, science is characterized by scientists' belief in creating agreement among them about what "truth" is. For example, physicists would create agreement about what gravitation is, what latent heat of evaporation is, and so forth. Psychologists would create an agreement, for example, about how a person with a certain personality type is likely to behave in a certain situation. Management scholars might attempt to create agreement about what is an effective organizational strategy under rapid or slow changes in the environment.

Another foundation of science lies in the belief that science is value-free, and scientific knowledge comprises impersonal facts from which disinterested theories are constructed. Though both the impersonal nature of facts and the disinterested nature of theories are found to be lacking in science (Churchman, 1961; Kuhn, 1962; Mitroff, 1974; Rander & Winokur, 1970), social scientists generally believe them to be the characteristics of science.

Science also regards logic as something basic. For example, The Law of Contradiction, i.e., no proposition can be both true and false at the same time, and The Law of Excluded Middle, i.e., every proposition is either true or false, are taken as axioms, something that is irrefutable. If these fundamentals are contradicted then the experience or fact itself is to be labeled as distortion or error (Mitroff & Kilman, 1978).

Scholars have criticized this notion for some time. For example, Haack (1974, p. 15) argued that at least in principle logic should not be viewed as infallible and absolute, "… none of our beliefs, the laws of logic included, is immune from revision in the light of experience. According to this view, it is at least theoretically possible that we should revise our logic."

Mitroff and Kilman (1978, p. 53) concluded that "in order to label something a scientific theory, we must be able to cast it into a logical form so that given the

proper antecedent conditions (X, A), we can make a valid deduction (Y)." They further stated that what is generally accepted as scientific requires that all scientific theories follow this form of reasoning, and whatever does not fit this cast is dismissed as nonscientific.

Dewey characterized scientists as having "an obsessive quest for certainty" (Dewey, 1960, p. 244) and blamed them for pursuing certainty to the degree that they ignore the inherent uncertainty in natural processes. Thus, pursuing certainty in the face of inherent uncertainty is another defining attribute of science. We find this pursuit of certainty in the work of Campbell and Stanley (1966), who presented eight threats to internal validity in establishing whether a certain variable is the cause of an outcome (X causes Y). Their work has become the foundation of research methodology in social sciences and goes without much criticism. However, some scholars have questioned whether there are other sets of criteria that are equally meaningful. For example, Mitroff and Kilman (1978) examined these criteria and concluded that there are other desirable criteria that can be used to conduct a study, including experimental designs. They argued that avoiding these eight threats necessarily leads one to the control-group-experimental-design as the only viable research method for doing scientific research. They raised an interesting question, whether the same experimental design would be selected if other research criteria were used, and posited that there are indeed alternative sets of criteria that can be used to conduct research, and that these alternative criteria did not lead to the experimental design. They, thus, concluded that "selection of any particular experimental design is not automatic but is a function of one's *worldview* [emphasis added] as well as a response to particular technical requirements" (Mitroff and Kilman, p. 47).

Argyris (1968) presented a severe critique of the traditional controlled experimental design on two grounds. First, he argued that the controlled experiment is tyrannical much like the assembly line where workers have no control over their work. He argued that under such repressing settings the subjects often withdraw psychologically from the experiment and give wrong answers. The second ground for criticism deals with generalizability, and he argued that the findings from such experimental settings cannot be generalized to the real world and can only be valid for similar repressive settings.

Champions of science glorify it on many counts. Some argue that science is the most fundamental of all disciplines, and only science, not art or literature, offers continuous progress, so much so that human progress entirely depends on it (Sarton, 1962).

> In almost every case wherever there is progress or a possibility of progress, this is due to science and its applications. I would never claim that science is more important than art, morality, or religion, but it is more fundamental, for progress in any direction is always subordinated to some form or other of scientific progress (Sarton, 1962, p. 45).

We can say that science is characterized by its core values of rejection of the indeterminate, objectivity, impersonalness, and the belief that the world can be partitioned into smaller parts where the total is simply the sum of the parts. Science is about creating agreement among scientists about what "truth" is.

Science is value-free, and scientific knowledge comprises impersonal facts from which disinterested theories are constructed. Science pursues certainty and uses The Law of Contradiction (i.e., no proposition can be both true and false at the same time) and The Law of Excluded Middle (i.e., every proposition is either true or false). Science strives to get at the cause of certain outcomes and follows the logic, "If (X, A), then (Y)." Scientific method and practices are characterized by experimentation, measurement, precision, accuracy, reliability, and replication. Scientists compete for grants, and competition symbolizes hierarchy in method and outcomes. Practitioners of science believe that scientific discoveries are the most fundamental elements of progress in human civilization. There is much hero worship in science, and names of Newton, Marie Curie, Einstein, Louis Pasteur, Chandrasekhar, and Bose draw adulation and awe. Thus, science has all the elements of culture – values, heroes, and practices – (Hofstede, Neuijen, Ohayv, & Sanders, 1990), and these characteristics define the cultural boundaries of science. Since science is defined as everything rational, this may be the only known culture that has a rigorous formal and definitive boundary. But the practice of science is much like any culture with much variation in its informal culture (Hall, 1959) (Figure 3.1).

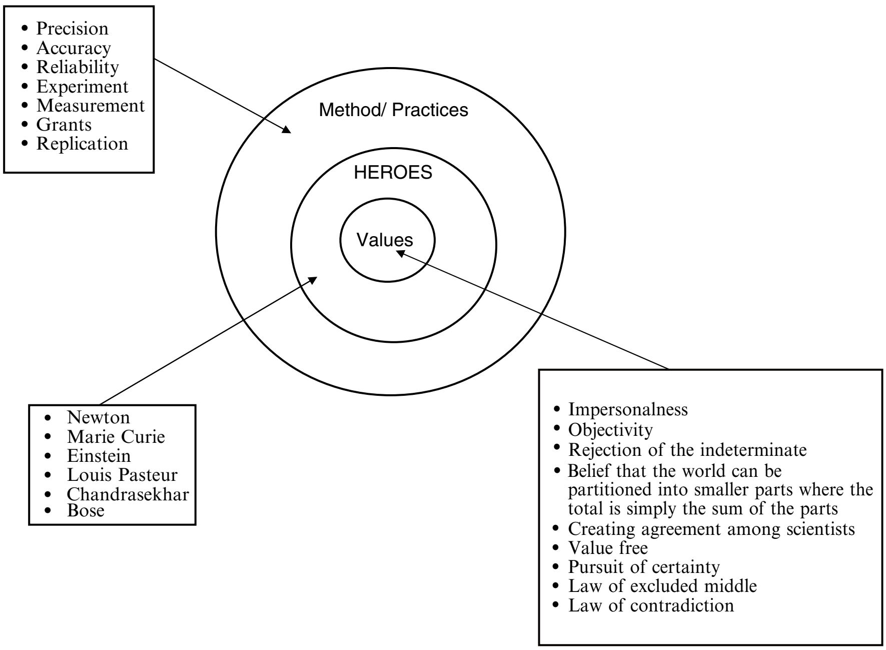


Figure 3.1 Culture of science: The objective and subjective elements

The Indian Worldview

In this section, an attempt is made to present a sketch of the Indian worldview. First, the classical worldview from the *upaniSads* is presented. Then, with the help of ideas from the *bhagavadgItA*, a consequence of such a worldview is discussed to highlight how worldviews influence what we value and how we study it. The Indian worldview from the *upaniSads* is captured well in *izopaniSad* in verses nine to eleven.

> Those who worship *avidyA* (ignorance or rites) enter into blinding darkness; but those who are engaged in *vidyA* (knowledge or meditation) enter into greater darkness (9). They say that by *vidyA* a really different result is achieved, and they say that by *avidyA* a different result is achieved; thus have we heard the teaching of those wise people who explained that to us (10). He [or she] who knows these two, *vidyA* and *avidyA*, together, attains immortality through *vidyA*, by crossing over death through *avidyA* (11) (Gambhiranand, 1972, pp. 18–19).

We can see that the Indian worldview is quite alien to the scientific culture. In the ninth verse, both *avidyA* and *vidyA* are said to lead to darkness, and *vidyA*, the good knowledge, is said to be more damning than *avidyA*, the "bad" knowledge, which in itself is contradictory in that how can good be worse than bad? In the tenth verse, wise people are quoted to state that *avidyA* and *vidyA* serve different functions. And then in the 11th verse those who know both *avidyA* and *vidyA* conjointly are said to be wise, because they use one to pass over death and the other to attain immortality.

It is the logic that I am drawing attention to, without getting embroiled into the question whether humans can ever achieve immortality. Wise people of India could partition the world in opposites, then put them together into one whole, and then again partition them. People who have a worldview that can deal with such a system of logic and concepts are likely to choose different problems to study, define problems differently, and then use different methodology to study those problems. We see this unique Indian logic system repeated in the next three verses of the same *upaniSad*:

> Those who worship the *asaMbhUti* (Unmanifested, *prakriti*, or nonbecoming) enter into blinding darkness; but those who are devoted to the *saMbhUti* (Manifested, becoming, Destruction, or *hiranyagarbha*) enter into greater darkness (12). They spoke of a different result from the worship of the Manifested, and they spoke of a different result from the worship of the Unmanifested – thus we have heard the teachings of those wise people who explained that to us (13). He or she who knows these two – the Unmanifested (nonbecoming) and Destruction (*hiranyagarbha*) – together attains immortality through the Unmanifested, by crossing death through Destruction (14) (Gambhiranand, 1972, pp. 20–22).

The classical Western logic system, which is the foundation of scientific thinking, is unable to accept both "X" and "Not X" as true. In the *upaniSadic* literature, however, we find that people are very comfortable with practicing both "X" and "Not X" simultaneously, and X plus Not X does not become zero, instead it becomes what could be labeled infinity. Therefore, *vidyA* and *avidyA* or *saMbhUti* and *asaMbhUti*, the opposite of each other, together lead to immortality. In the *upaniSad*s, we find more examples of this way of thinking.

> I do not think, "I know (*brahman*) well enough." "Not that I do not know: I know and I do not know as well." He among us who understands that utterance, "not that I do not know: I know and I do not know as well," knows that (*brahman*) (2). It is known to him to whom it is unknown; he does not know to whom it is known. It is unknown to those who know well and known to those who do not know (3) (*kena upaniSad*, Canto 2, Gambhiranand, 1972, pp. 59, 61).
>
> While sitting, It travels far away; while sleeping, It goes everywhere. Who but I can know that Deity who is both joyful and joyless (II, 21). This self cannot be known through much study, or through the intellect, or through much hearing. It can be known through the Self alone that the aspirant prays to; this Self of that seeker reveals Its true nature (II, 23). The discriminating man should merge the (organ of) speech into the mind; he should merge that (mind) into the intelligent self; he should merge the intelligent self into the Great Soul, he should merge the Great Soul into the peaceful Self (III, 13) (*katha upaniSad*, Canto 2–3, Gambhiranand, 1972, pp. 146, 148, 164).

This worldview is also present in other Indian texts. For example, in the *durgA saptazati*, the *devi* (or Goddess) is described as the combination of two opposites. In Chapter 1, verse 82, she is described as the most beautiful and one that is beyond *parA* and *aparA* and is the supreme ruler (*saumyA saumyatarAzeSa-saumebhyast-vati-sundari, parAparAnAm paramA tvameva paramezvari*). In Chapter 5, verse 13, she is described as both extremely tranquil or peaceful (*saumya*) and extremely ferocious (*rudra*), and the devotee is at peace praying to these two conflicting forms of the *devi* at the same time, in the same verse, in the same breath! (*ati-saumyAti-raudrAyai namastasyai namo namaH, namo jagat-pratiSThAyai devyai krityai namo namaH*). Besides the Goddess *kAlI*, who has many ferocious forms, we find similar description of Lord *narsiMha deva* in the *bhAgavatam* (*bhAgavatam*, Canto 7, Chapter 8, verses 20–22[1]), who is so ferocious that even Goddess *laxami* is afraid to approach him when he appeared and killed the *asura* king *hiraNyakazipu* (*bhAgavatam*, Canto 7, Chapter 9, verse 2). However, the devotees are at peace singing the praises of such a ferocious deity and glorify Lord *narsiMha* in the evening prayers at the ISKCON temple around the world.[2]

It should be noted that the Indian worldview is somewhat similar to what Mitroff and Kilman (1978) categorized as the "conceptual theorist," people who try to make a determination of the right versus the wrong schema by comparing two means-end

---

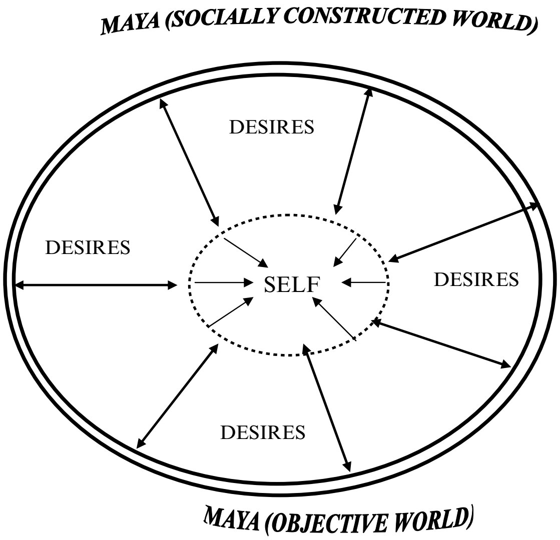
[1] The Lord's form was extremely fearsome because of His fierce [angry] eyes, which resembled molten gold; His shining mane, which expanded the dimensions of His fear generating [fearful] face; His deadly teeth; and His razor-sharp tongue, which moved about like a dueling sword. His ears were erect and motionless, and His nostrils and gaping mouth appeared like caves or a mountain. His jaws parted ferociously [fearfully], and His entire body touched the sky. His neck was very short and thick, His chest broad, His waist thin, and the hairs of His body as white as the rays of the moon. His arms, which resembled flanks of soldiers, spread in all directions as He killed the demons, rogues, and atheists with His conch shell, disc, club, lotus and other natural weapons (Prabhupad, 1972, Canto 7, Chapter 8, pp. 141).

[2] *namaste narasiMhAya prahalAd AhlAd dAyine, hiraNyakazipurvakSaH zilATankanakhAlaye, ito nRsiMho parato nRsiMho yato yato yAmi tato nRsiMho, bAhir nRsiMho hRdaye nRsiMho, nRsiMham AdIm zaraNaM prapadye; tava kara kamalA vare nakhaM adbhuta zRGgam dalita hiraNyakazipu tanu bhRGgam; kezava dhRta narahari rUpa jai jagadIz hare, jai jagadIz hare; jai nRsiMha deva, jai nRsiMha deva; jai bhakta prahalAda, jai bhakta prahalAda.*

schemas against each other, quite the opposite of the traditional scientific approach in which people select one single best explanation within a single means-end schema.

Consequences of the Indian Worldview

Sinha and Tripathi (1994) found that Indians were both individualistic and collectivist in their cognition and suggested that it may be inappropriate to label the Indian culture as collectivist. To understand the self and resolve such contradictions, it may be necessary to examine the self in the indigenous cultural view of the world. Bhawuk (1999) presented the Hindu worldview of the self (see Figure 3.2), which clearly departs from the independent and interdependent concepts of self (Triandis, 1989, 1995; Marcus & Kitayama, 1991). In this indigenous worldview, self is surrounded by *mAyA,* which is transient and deceptive. *MAyA* is defined here as the sum total of objective world and the socially constructed world. It is easier to visualize the socially constructed world as *mAyA*, since what is constructed in a certain time period changes over time, and is, thus, transient. The rationalist mind, Western and Eastern, can more readily accept the concept of *mAyA* as social



Inner Circle: Self
Outer Circle: Environment (objective and subjective); Socially Constructed as *mAyA*
Double Arrow: Self and Environment are tied through desires psychologically
Arrow Pointing to Self: *pratyAhAr* or effort made to focus on the self internally, away from *mAyA*; *pratyAhAr* is similar to Path 2 in Figure 5.1 (see Chapter 5)

Figure 3.2 Interaction between self and environment: An indigenous perspective

construction of reality (Berger & Luckmann, 1967; Gergen, 1999; Neimeyer, 2001), especially with social scientists who deal less with the objective world, and more with subjective culture (Triandis, 1972), which is socially constructed and impermanent, and always "false" in the long run, as Davis (1971) argued.

The objective world is so concrete that many people have serious reservations about accepting it as *mAyA*. Newtonian physics has contributed tremendously to this worldview. However, research in particle physics has led physicists to abandon the Newtonian concept of matter being definite and concrete, which can be defined by location, velocity, energy, and size (Hagelin, 1998). The Heisenberg principle of indeterminacy has led to the idea that nature is in some cases unpredictable, and scholars doubt that materialism can claim to be a scientific philosophy (Koestler, 1978). Also, an examination of the most accepted model of cosmology, the inflationary big bang theory (Guth, 1997; Linde, 1994), points in this direction. Stenger (1999) argued that science does not need to believe, consistent with most recent scientific theories, that the universe was created by God. Instead, it is plausible that "the universe tunneled from pure vacuum (nothing) to what is called a false vacuum, a region of space that contains no matter or radiation but is not quite nothing (Stenger, 1999)". Leaving aside the issue whether God created this universe or it emerged on its own, in the emerging worldview from the big bang theory it could be argued that *mAyA* not only includes the subjective world that we create but also the objective world with which we interact.

Self tends to interact with *mAyA* because it is attracted by it, and, in the Hindu worldview, this interaction is the source of all human misery. The interaction of self with *mAyA* and conceptions of how one should deal with it show clear cultural variation. It is apparent that the Western psychology has focused on individual's goals, goal achievement, and the need for achievement. Indigenous Indian psychology, on the other hand, as a consequence of the Indian worldview, has focused on self and its interactions with the world through desires, controlling desires, and attaining personal peace. In indigenous Indian psychology, therefore, tremendous emphasis is placed on how to deal with, even eliminate, desires, whereas we find that in Western cultures following one's desires (e.g., doing one's own thing and doing what one likes to do) is greatly emphasized. Thus, the Indian worldview leads to building psychological models that are quite different from what we have in the West, and in the later chapters many indigenous models are presented. The inevitable conflict between the Indian worldview and the scientific culture is demonstrated in the next section by analyzing research on Transcendental Meditation (TM).

Transcendental Meditation and Science

Research on Transcendental Meditation offers an interesting interaction between science and Indian worldview and the consequences of such interactions. Maharishi Mahesh Yogi proposed TM as a method for achieving personal well-being and calming one's mind, which was later promoted as a tool for reducing stress (Mason, 1994). Serious academic research was started using people who practiced TM, and

results were published in scientific journals (Benson, 1969; Wallace, 1970; Wallace & Benson, 1972). The major findings were that oxygen consumption, heart rate, skin resistance, and electroencephalograph measurements showed significant difference within and between subjects. During meditation, oxygen consumption and heart rate decreased, skin resistance increased, and electroencephalograph showed changes in certain frequencies (see Chapter 2 for the benefits of TM). Recent work by the faculty of the Maharishi University and others shows that research on TM continues to follow the experimental scientific approach. It is likely that research on TM will cover a wide variety of concepts and ideas related to consciousness and neuroscience in the future (Anderson et al., 2008; MacLean et al., 1997; Rainforth et al., 2007; Travis & Pearson, 2000; Travis & Wallace, 1999).

This is the success story of TM in adapting to the scientific method. But the critics of TM offer an interesting insight into the conflict between scientific and Indian worldviews. Extending his studies beyond TM, Benson (1975) theorized that we have a "Relaxation Response" built into our nervous systems, much like the fight-or-flight reaction. Benson built his work on the work of Dr. Walter R. Hess, the Swiss Nobel prize-winning physiologist, who studied cats, and by stimulating a part of the hypothalamus in a cat's brain was able to arouse the symptoms of fight-or-flight response in the cat. Hess also demonstrated the opposite of this response by stimulating another part of the hypothalamus and called it trophotropic response. Trophotropic response is a protective mechanism against overstress belonging to the trophotropic system and promoting restorative processes (Hess, 1957). The equivalent of the trophotropic response in humans is labeled as Relaxation Response by Dr. Benson (Benson, 1975). Benson concluded that relaxation response is elicited by practicing meditation, but *they were in no way unique to Transcendental Meditation* (Benson, 1975, p. 95, emphasis in original).

Benson (1975, 1984, 1996) suggested that there are four steps that are necessary to elicit the relaxation response. First the practitioner should find a quiet environment. Next, one should consciously relax the body muscles. Then one should focus on a "mental device," a word or prayer, for 10 to 20 minutes. And finally, one should take a passive attitude toward intrusive thoughts. Thus, we see that what Benson proposes is basically TM with the exception that in the third step instead of using a *mantra* one uses what Benson calls a "mental device." Benson has given many secular focus words like "One," "Ocean," "Love," "Peace," "Calm," and "Relax, " but claims that "there is no 'Benson technique' for eliciting the relaxation response (Benson, 1996, p. 135)." What we see is an attempt to move away from TM, apparently to secularize the process and, therefore, make it more scientific. Here, we see another value of science – science is secular, and even if it learns from a religious or spiritual tradition of a culture, it attempts to create its own system by distancing itself from the traditional one.

We find an interesting conflict between traditional culture and science here. Benson in the zeal of following scientific methodology is willing to throw out traditional cultural knowledge as unscientific. A quote from a medical doctor, William Nolen, written in praise of Benson's (1975) book, *the Relaxation Response*, shows this bias against cultural knowledge.

> I am delighted that someone has finally taken the nonsense out of meditation….Dr. Benson gives you guidelines so that without the need to waste hundreds of dollars on so-called 'courses,' the reader knows how to meditate – and how to adopt a technique that best suits him or herself. This is a book any rational person – whether a product of Eastern or Western culture – can wholeheartedly accept.

Dr. Nolen provides an example of how scientists or people who have bought into the scientific worldview need evidence of a certain type to believe in the findings. The *mantra* is being referred to as the nonsense part of meditation, since the steps recommended by Benson are identical with TM, except for the use of the *mantra*. Since there has been no research showing the superiority of Benson's method over TM in reducing stress, it is plausible that Dr. Nolen has personal bias against TM. As scientists should we worry about the use of a *mantra*? Perhaps, science is impersonal, but not the scientists who do science. In a study of Apollo scientists, Mitroff (1974) showed that scientists have their personal biases, are intolerant of each other, and harbor hostility toward different types of scientists. We see this bias again on the web page that describes Dr. Benson's book, *Timeless Healing* (1996) (emphasis added):

> Harvard cardiologist Dr. Herbert Benson, whose new book, *Timeless Healing,* builds on *years of rigorous science*, was one of the first researchers to discover the power of spiritual tools to lower blood pressure and other stress symptoms.

The bias can be seen in calling Benson's findings as built on years of rigorous science, as if the Indian yogis invented the meditation technique without researching it rigorously in their own ways. Also, it implies that TM is less scientific, which is unfounded since all research done on TM has been done by using the obtrusive experimental approach that requires measuring various physical parameters. It is obvious that only those who have a training in science can understand or relate to such measures as "oxygen consumption," "decrease in cardiac output," "mean decrease in heart rate," "the skin resistance measured by Galvanic Skin Resistance," and "the amplitude of alpha waves." However, traditional knowledge has informed Indians for a long time that those who meditate are less irritable, which has also been reported in scientific studies (Wallace, 1970). Thus, one could argue that the scientific findings claimed by Benson and his supporters are merely translation of well-known facts for the scientific community or replication of findings known in the traditional culture for centuries.

Benson's (1984) model of anxiety cycle helps us understand his motivation for choosing the particular method of research. He posits that *anxiety* leads to *increased sympathetic nervous system activity*, which in turn leads to *worsening of stress, worry, pain, or other symptoms of an illness.* Benson theorized, which suits his scientific worldview, that Relaxation Response helps reduce both anxiety and increased sympathetic nervous system activity, thus helping the practitioner reduce stress and increase his or her well-being. The Indian yogis did not use meditation to reduce anxiety, but instead recommended it for withdrawing the mind inward so that one could achieve self-realization (Bhawuk, 1999). Here, we see how difference in motivation leads to different conceptual models and research agendas. Benson is a cardiologist and is motivated to find ways to reduce heart illness, whereas the Indian yogis were interested in spirituality and so they invented many

methods to pursue self-realization. When scientists use a method developed in traditional cultures, rather than using their findings to discredit traditional knowledge, we should use them to complement existing traditional wisdom, which may offer a win-win strategy for knowledge creation. It also allows us to consider indigenous approaches as scientific in their own rights, with their own method, logic, and way of verification, and prevents us from fitting them into the Procrustean bed of science.

To summarize, the objective of yoga is self-realization, to unite the self (*Atman*) with the supersoul (*parmAtmA*), which only makes sense in the Indian worldview discussed earlier. Benson is a medical practitioner, and so he values physical health, and thus is happy to limit his findings to relaxation response, to solve the problem of stress. However, in the Indian cultural worldview, *mantra* or no *mantra*, meditation is not a tool for physical health; it is a method to pursue self-realization, the union with *brahman* (the concept of *brahman* was briefly discussed in the section on the *upaniSads*). In the context of the Indian worldview, physical health resulting from meditation may be a by-product and nothing more. Thus, we see the conflict between values of science as a profession (or cultural worldview of the scientists) and the values of people in India (or the worldview of Indian culture). As cultural researchers we have to deal with such conflicts.

Implications for Global Psychology

As cultural researchers we are all scientists, and, therefore, buy into the value system of rational science (Rander & Winokur, 1970), which was discussed in the first section of the chapter. But we are also a part of some culture, and so we share a worldview from that culture, often implicitly. Increasingly, the scientific worldview is being adopted in the Western countries, but there is still a lot of resistance in other cultures to a total acceptance of the scientific worldview. It is not unusual for practicing scientists and engineers to use traditional knowledge, whether it is a voodoo technique to pacify a crying child or a text on astrology for finding an auspicious day to start the operation of a manufacturing plant. We find innumerable examples of how people are comfortable using the scientific methods in chemistry, engineering, and such other domains, but when it comes to areas where science is not able to give a definitive answer, they resort to other systems of explanations, which are often derived from their own cultures. And these are the domains of research for social science in general, and psychology and management in particular. We often find people using processes of decision-making that could not be called rational. We can label such behaviors as superstition and argue that such behaviors or their "unscientific" explanations would go away in time. Or, we can examine them more systematically, and learn about people's worldviews, what they do in different contexts, and why. Our worldview gives us faith in how the world around us works, and faith cannot be discarded.

Evidence from the medical science is increasingly pointing to faith as a tool in healing (McConnell, 1998). In one study at the Duke Medical School, the researcher

found that among 455 elderly hospital patients those who attended church once a week stayed in hospital for 4 days on an average, whereas those who did not attend church spent 10 to 12 days in the hospital. In another study at Dartmouth Medical School, it was found that 21 patients who did not believe in God died within 6 months of surgery, but 37 people who were deeply religious lived longer. In Israeli kibbutzim, in a longitudinal study of 3,900 people, it was found that those who were religious had a lower heart-related death than those who were not. And in a Yale University study of 2,812 elderly people, it was found that those who never go to church have twice the stroke rate compared to the weekly churchgoers (McConnell, 1998).

Faith and science are coming to an interesting confluence. Dr. Benson thought TM was a cult (Benson, 1974) and was driven to search for a secular "mental device" to get away from TM, which appeared religious and faith bound to him. Apparently, he has come a full circle when he theorizes that "people are wired for God" and have an "organic craving" for the eternal (Benson, 1996, pp. 195–217, 67–95). It comes as a surprise when in a disclosure of personal belief he states that his belief in God is based on scientific evidence.

> I am astonished that our bodies are nourished and healed by prayer and other exercises of belief. To me, this capability does not seem to be a fluke; our design does not seem haphazard. In the same way some physicists have found their scientific journeys inexorably leading to a conclusion of "deliberate supernatural design," my scientific studies have again and again returned to the potency of faith, so ingrained in the body that we cannot find a time in history when man and woman did not worship gods, pray, and entertain fervent beliefs. Whether God is conjured as an opiate for the masses, as Karl Marx suggested, or whether God created us to believe in an experience that is ever soothing to us, the veracity of the experience of God is undeniable to me. My reasoning and personal experience lead me to believe that there is a God (Benson, 1996, p. 305).

Dr. Benson's statement above contrasts against that of Dr. Stenger (1999), a professor of physics.

> Claims that scientists have uncovered supernatural purpose to the universe have been widely reported recently in the media. The so-called anthropic coincidences, in which the constants of nature seem to be extraordinarily fine-tuned for the production of life, are taken as evidence. However, no such interpretation can be found in scientific literature. All we currently know from fundamental physics and cosmology remains consistent with a universe that evolved by purely natural processes (Stenger, 1999).

We see two scientists from different domains of research using "scientific evidence" to conclude the opposite, leaving us into much of a paradox. Can both Benson and Stenger be right? A rationalist research paradigm will never be able to resolve this, because only one solution can exist. Therefore, we need to go beyond the rationalist paradigm and use not only multimethod within one paradigm, but use multiple paradigms – particularly those suggested by indigenous worldviews. This should help us to study human behavior in its cultural context and enable us to study issues that cannot be studied appropriately within the narrow confine of any one paradigm.

The multiparadigmatic approach calls for the nurturing of indigenous research agenda. However, the leadership of the Western world in research and knowledge

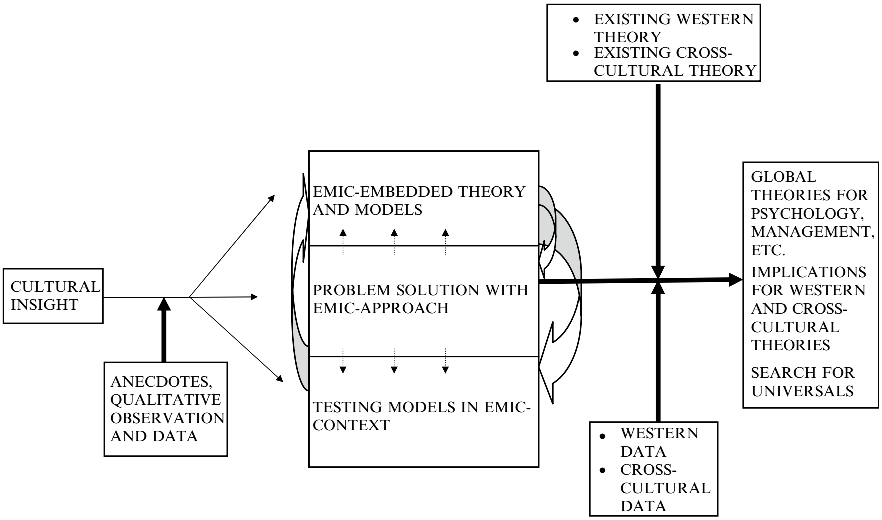


Figure 3.3 The role of cultural insight in knowledge creation

creation more than often leads to starting with theoretical positions that are grounded in Western cultural mores. Thus, starting with a theoretical position invariably leads to the pseudoetic approach in which theories are necessarily Western emics. To avoid this Procrustean bed of Western-theory-driven research, it is necessary to start with insights offered by indigenous cultures and I present an approach to research that could help us avoid the pseudoetic trap. It is proposed here that we start with insights from folk wisdom and classical texts in indigenous non-Western cultures. We should enrich these insights with anecdotal evidence, qualitative analyses, and observational data from the target indigenous culture (Bhawuk, 1999, 2003a) (see Figure 3.3).

This process is likely to result into emic-embedded or culturally rich knowledge, which could be used threefold by the three consumers of research (Brinberg & McGrath, 1985): the theoreticians, practitioners, and empiricists. First, emic-embedded theory and models could be developed to study indigenous social issues by theoreticians and other researchers who are more theoretically inclined. Second, practitioners could use these models to solve practical problems in the culture where the idea originated. This would avoid the blind importing of solutions from the West, which often do not work because they are countercultural (Bhawuk, 2001a). And finally, researchers who are more empirically inclined could use these models to guide indigenous and cross-cultural empirical research. Of course, theories could drive practice and empirical work, empirical work could lead to refinement of theories and models, and practitioners' experience could lead to empirical research or theory building when the accumulated experience warrants such efforts (see Figure 3.3).

Models developed from such insights need to be informed or moderated by the existing Western and cross-cultural theories and empirical evidence from Western cultures as well as cross-cultural studies. This process, starting with cultural insight, examining existing theories, data, and other evidence, developing emic-embedded theories and models, and synthesizing such models with existing Western and cross-cultural theories and data, should help us develop global theories for psychology, management, and other fields of human endeavor. Such an approach can expand the scope of research for Western and cross-cultural theories and in the long run will help us in the search of universals. This methodology is similar to following a strategy of using inductive approach in the beginning, and then following a deductive approach, which is often used in exploring new areas of research. However, the strength of the method lies in using inductive approach grounded in indigenous ideas even in domains where rigorous Western theories already exist. Another clear strength of this method is that it avoids the pseudoetic approach, which is often dependent on Western theories, without completely discarding the Western theories and empirical findings. Finally, this method allows us to use insights in theory building beyond mere speculation and thus puts insight at the center of research endeavors and in knowledge creation. Figure 3.3 is a graphic representation of this method.

A wave of multidisciplinary research and writing further supports this research approach. As was noted earlier, many Indologists have attempted to connect the *vedas* and the Indian philosophy to modern science or scientific thinking. For example, Murthy (1997) attempts to show how the *vedic* theory approximates the projections of earth science and even derives methods of predicting earthquakes from the *vedas*. Similarly, many researchers in philosophy have attempted to highlight the significance of the teachings of the *upaniSads* to modern scientific thought (Puligandla, 1997) and have attempted to show the compatibility of science, religion, and philosophy (Capra, 1975). Some Indologists have even attempted to show that mysticism is a corollary to scientific investigation (Prasad, 1995). Others have claimed that Hinduism laid the foundations of modern scientific search in cosmogony, astronomy, meteorology, and psychology (Iyengar, 1997). Vanucci (1994) examined the *vedic* perspectives on ecology and its relevance to contemporary worldview. Thus, we see that there exists a growing trend to bridge science and traditional Indian knowledge. This is a trend that needs to be nurtured rather than discarded as an attempt on the part of scholars from traditional cultures to bolster their cultural knowledge by leaning on what we think is hard science.

The idea of using multiple paradigms extends Berry and Kim's (1993) proposals of ways in which indigenous psychologies will contribute to a truly universal psychology, or Sternberg and Grigorenko's (2001) proposal for a unified psychology, and is akin to Gergen's (2001) notion of postmodernist flowering of methodology. Cross-cultural researchers have been driven to search for universals in human behavior, and it is a continuing and primary purpose of cross-cultural research. Some cultural psychologists have contributed to our understanding of universals (e.g., Shweder, Mahapatra, & Miller, 1987; Slobin, 1990) and argue that it is a mistake to think that our common biological roots make the context bound study of

differences in our values, attitudes, and behaviors superficial (Shweder, 1990). For example, the same arguably universal construct (e.g., "success") takes on very different meanings according to one's worldview. We cannot validly compare a successful person of 50 in India who begins his or her spiritual journey (or *vAnaprastha*) by giving up career and other worldly belongings to an American facing a midlife crisis, though on surface giving up a career may appear to reflect midlife crisis. Considering such issues will not mean abandoning the etic–emic approach or the controlled laboratory experiments. However, it does require more than multiple methods in a single (objective) paradigm: identifying universal and culturally variant aspects of behavior will require adopting indigenous paradigms to complement the objectivist paradigm, in an expansion of what is considered appropriate to science.

The multiparadigmatic approach will limit mistakes about universals. This approach combines Newtonian objectifying methods with subjective methods – including discourse analysis and ethnographic analysis – that allow comparing the variables under study in the context of their cultural worldviews. By learning about other worldviews, researchers will discover how their own worldviews have shaped their conceptions of potentially universal constructs and behaviors.

Smith et al. (2002) raised the issue how researchers of culture can benefit from the sort of complementarity of approaches proposed in the multiple-paradigms approach. Adequate training in any one of the scientific disciplines requires a significant portion of the human lifespan. Culture comparativists and interpretivists, therefore, have little choice other than to confess their less-than-total understanding of the rigors of preparation and validation required by one another's paradigms (cf. Vaughan, 1999) and to form multiparadigmatic research teams. Such teams will contribute both to a triangulation of evidence for and against proposed universals and to mutual reeducation. Interdisciplinary surveyors like Pirsig (1991), Wilson (1998), and Zohar (1996) help supply a common working language for such teams. Journal editors in particular are in a position to encourage this sort of methodological pluralism by giving preference to manuscripts based on it (Smith et al., 2002).

To conclude, as scientists we have inherited much of the Newtonian worldview. Newton not only shaped the way we see the world, as animate versus inanimate; he also shaped our intellectual pursuit, our very method of inquiry: from subjective to objective, from looking within to looking outside. This shift is clearly valuable for the physical sciences, but it is *limiting* to social sciences, especially cross-cultural research in psychology, sociology, and management. The limitations of objectivity, logical thinking of the type "If X, then Y," and related elements of the Newtonian worldview were noted. It was argued that science itself has a culture, which is characterized by evolving tenets like objectivity, impersonalness, reductionism, and rejection of the indeterminate. By comparing Indian culture with the culture of science, some ideas were presented about how cross-cultural researchers might benefit from the worldviews, models, questions, and methods characteristic of indigenous cultures, especially those of non-Western origin. It was proposed here that there is a need for crossing disciplinary boundaries and to use multiparadigmatic

research strategies to understand various worldviews in their own contexts. We hope that multiparadigmatic teams can help us find linkages across disciplines and paradigms. Finally, a method of how to start research with indigenous ideas was presented, and it is suggested that developing programs of research following this method is likely to help us develop truly global theories in social sciences.

Marsella (1998) entreated researchers to replace the Western cultural traditions by more encompassing multicultural traditions and reiterated the need to emphasize the cultural determinants of human behavior, which has been discussed in the literature (Gergen, 1994; Gergen, Gulerce, Lock, & Mishra, 1996; Pawlik, 1991). He recommended the systems orientation and noted that many indigenous psychologies are well equipped to deal with ascending dimensions of behavioral contexts, from individual to family to society to nature to spirituality. He further proposed that qualitative research including such methods as narrative accounts, discourse analysis, and ethnographic analysis should be encouraged. Following Maresella's recommendation, in this book many models are derived from the *bhagavadgItA*, which shows how indigenous psychology can help global-community psychology by providing rich cultural models of human behavior. Thus, cross-cultural researchers need to take a lead in going beyond various methods into trying various paradigms to study human psychology in the cultural context. We need to be bold in speculating that perhaps X and not X do not always have to result in a zero and may lead in some cases to infinity.

Chapter 4
Indian Concept of Self

The concept of self has been studied from multiple perspectives in India. A review of the study of self in India reveals that indeed the core of Indian self is metaphysical, and it has been the focus of study by philosophers as well as psychologists. There is general agreement that the metaphysical self, *Atman*, is the real self. This metaphysical self is embodied in a biological self, and through the caste system right at birth, the biological self acquires a social self. In this chapter, I present material from ancient and medieval texts that describe the indigenous concept of self in India from multiple perspectives. What emerges is a rich indigenous concept of self that simply would be missed if we followed the traditional Western psychological approach employed in the study of self. I start by examining the concept of self as it relates to stages of life, examine concept of self as it appears in the *bhagavadgItA* and other texts, and finally relate concept of self and identity by discussing regional and national identities. The Indian concept of self is then examined in light of the contemporary psychological research, and implications for global psychology are discussed.

Stages of Life and Concept of Self

In the Indian worldview, people are assigned social roles according to the phase of life they are in. The first phase is called the *bramhacarya Azram* in which people get education and learn life skills. In this phase, the primary focus is on achievement of skills, and traditionally one lived with a guru like his family member, and the Guru's wife took the role of the mother. Students lived in their guru's *Azram* and led a frugal life. Leaving home was considered a characteristic of students as captured in *nIti zlokas*.[1] A student should be persistent like a crow or make effort

[1] *kAga ceSTA vako dhyAnaM svAna nidrA tathaiva ca; alpAhArI gRhatyAgI vidyArthI pJca lakSaNAm*. A student should try like a crow, focus like a heron, sleep like a dog, eat less, and leave home. These are the five characteristics of a student. *cANakya nIti* also guides students: *sukhArthI vA tyajedvidyAM vidyarthI vA tyajet sukham; sukhArthinaH kuto vidyA vidyArthinaH*

D.P.S. Bhawuk, *Spirituality and Indian Psychology*, International and Cultural Psychology, DOI 10.1007/978-1-4419-8110-3_4,

to achieve his or her learning goals, focused or single-minded like a heron catching fish, sleep lightly like a dog, eat lightly, and live away from home. These are the five characteristics of a student that are often cited in daily conversations. *cANakya* also had some guidelines for students. He suggested that happiness and comfort do not go hand in hand with learning, and so those who want to learn should be willing to forego comfort and happiness. He also stated that one who is attached to home (i.e., cannot leave home) cannot learn, so students have to be ready to go away from home. He also listed the following eight "don'ts" for students: desire, anger, greed, taste, finery or paying attention to how one looks, pleasure or entertainment (e.g., song, dance, show, spectacle, and so forth), too much sleep, and enjoying anything excessively or immoderately. Boarding schools are contemporary versions of gurukul, and culturally, people are comfortable sending their children away for education starting as early as elementary school.

Upon completion of education at the age of 25, people entered the *gRhastha Azram* or the second phase of life in which they became householders and led a married life raising children. In this phase of life, the focus was on family and community responsibilities. One lived to find meaning in life by pursuing *dharma* (duty), *artha* (money), *kAma* (pleasure), and *mokSa* (liberation), which is referred to as the four *puruSarthas* of life. In this stage of life, money and pleasure were allowed, though in moderation, and were to be guided by *dharma* or duty. This stage of life was clearly a preparation for the next stage, rather than a phase of unbridled excesses of "do what you like." *dharma* was to always guide ones' behavior, and one was never to lose sight of *mokSa* or liberation.

At the age of 51, one entered the third phase of life or *vAnaprastha Azram* and became a forest dweller and focused on his or her spiritual life. In this phase of life, people led an austere life much like they did in the first phase as a student. This phase of life included the practice of *tapas* or penance gradually increasing in severity, and one would reduce the food intake gradually to live on fruits only. People would often live near an *Azram* to get guidance from a guru to pursue a spiritual practice. Finally, at the age of 75 one entered *sannyAs Azram* or the fourth phase of life and became a *sannyAsi* or a monk and renounced all pleasures of life to pursue *jnAna* (or knowledge) or self-realization.

Depending on which phase of life one is in, the self is viewed differently. Lifestyle completely changes from phase to phase. For example, as a student one

---

kuto sukham (10.3), *gRhA'saktasya no vidyA no dayA mAMsabhojinaH; dravya lubdhasya no satyaM straiNasya na pavitratA* (11.5), and *kAmaM krodhaM tatha lobhaM svadaM zRGgArkautuke; atinidrA'tiseve ca vidyArthI hyaSTa varjayet* (11.10). If one wants to learn one should give up the desire to be comfortable or happy, for if one wishes to be comfortable or happy one should not aspire to learn. Comfort and learning do not go hand in hand, and so those who want comfort do not learn, and those who want to learn do not have comfort. One who is attached to home (i.e., cannot leave home) cannot learn, one who is a nonvegetarian has no compassion, one who is attached to money has not truth, and one who chases women is not pure (11.5). Students should avoid the following: desire, anger, greed, taste, finery or paying attention to how one looks, pleasure or entertainment (e.g., song, dance, show, and spectacle), too much sleep, and enjoying anything excessively or immoderately.

ate less (*alpAhAri*), but as a householder there was no restriction on what to eat and when to eat. As a forest-dweller one ate fruits and roots, and as a monk one begged three houses, washed whatever food one received from them, and then ate the "taste-free" food. Thus, stage of life clearly defines one's occupation and role in the society, and, therefore, the Indian concept of self is socially constructed and varies with stage or phase of life.

There is little adherence to the stage of life in India today on a mass scale, but the idea still persists. A close examination of the official positions held by Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan (1888–1975), the second President of India, shows that he held most of his official appointments like the Vice Chancellor of Benaras Hindu University, Ambassador to UNESCO, Ambassador to USSR, two terms as the Vice President of India, and one term as the President of India, after age 51. One could expect that a Brahmin and scholar of Indian philosophy like him might have followed the stages of life. He served as the Vice President from age 64 to 74 at the peak of his vAnaprastha years, and as the President of India when it is recommended for people to become a *sannyAsi*. Though it is not unheard of to find some people practice the normative stage of life principle. For example, E.M. Foster noted his surprise in *A Passage to India* about meeting the Prime Minister of the Kingdom of Mysore in his ministerial capacity first and then the very next year as a mendicant. He found it amazing that someone could go from being a minister in a palace and having a luxurious life to voluntarily becoming a beggar.

It is not unusual for people to start slowing down on their worldly commitments. It is more pronounced in the villages among farmers and traders among whom the elders pass on the baton to the next generation. With the retirement age of 58 (and rising, for example, college professors working for universities funded by the central government now retire at 65, and this limit is likely to be raised to age 70 in the future) for people who work in the organized sectors, the *vAnaprastha* stage only starts after retirement, and it is not unusual for people to commit to social service organizations or to spend some time in traveling to holy places or relocating in such places for the part of the year. There are also some *vAnaprastha Azrams* available for people to move into, and the earliest one was started by *Arya samAj* in Hardwar in the early twentieth century. Many others have sprung up for retirees following the *Arya samAj* model, and Manav Kalyan Kendra is one such center. The center was founded by Dr. J.P. Sharma and his Guru, Panditji, who is a resident of the center and is responsible for leading the *Azram*. The center runs on six principles of devotion, contemplation, humanity, all are one, serve all, and love all (Cohen, 1998). Thus, the concept of stages of life, though not popular, is still a relevant concept in India and thus important for the study of concept of self.

Physical, Social, and Metaphysical Self

Examining concepts of self that have been explored from diverse perspectives in India, Bharati concluded that compared to the Western perspective, self is defined in a rather unique perspective in the Indian worldview. The self has been studied

as "an ontological entity" in Indian philosophy from time immemorial and "far more intensively and extensively than any of the other societies" in the East (Confucian, Chinese, or Japanese) or the West (either secular thought or Judeo–Christian–Muslim traditions) (Bharati, 1985, p. 185). On the other hand, psychologists who have followed the Western research tradition in understanding the Indian social self have found mixed results. In view of this, some researchers have attempted to understand the social self in the Indian context (Bhawuk, 1999, 2004, 2005; Sinha, 1965).

As seen in the literature in both philosophy and psychology, there is much evidence that the core of Indian self is metaphysical (Dasgupta, 1922–1955; Paranjpe, 1984, 1998; Sinha, 1933). The metaphysical self is most commonly visualized as *Atman*, which is situated in a living being as a result of past *karma*. Of all the living beings, human beings are believed to be the only ones who can pursue *mokSa* (or liberation), enlightenment, *jnAna* (or knowledge), or self-realization. This concept of ultimate state to be pursued by human beings is shared with the Buddhists who call it *nirvana,* the major difference being that Buddhists deny the existence of *Atman* and refer to self as *anAtta.* Thus, the metaphysical self is embodied in a physical body, which constitutes an important part of Indian concept of self. Beyond the physical self exist psychological self and social self, and both these concepts are brimming with cultural constructions. For example, the caste system is an important part of Indian social self, which has relevance for the Indian population and the Indian Diaspora but little relevance for other cultures. Similarly, constructs

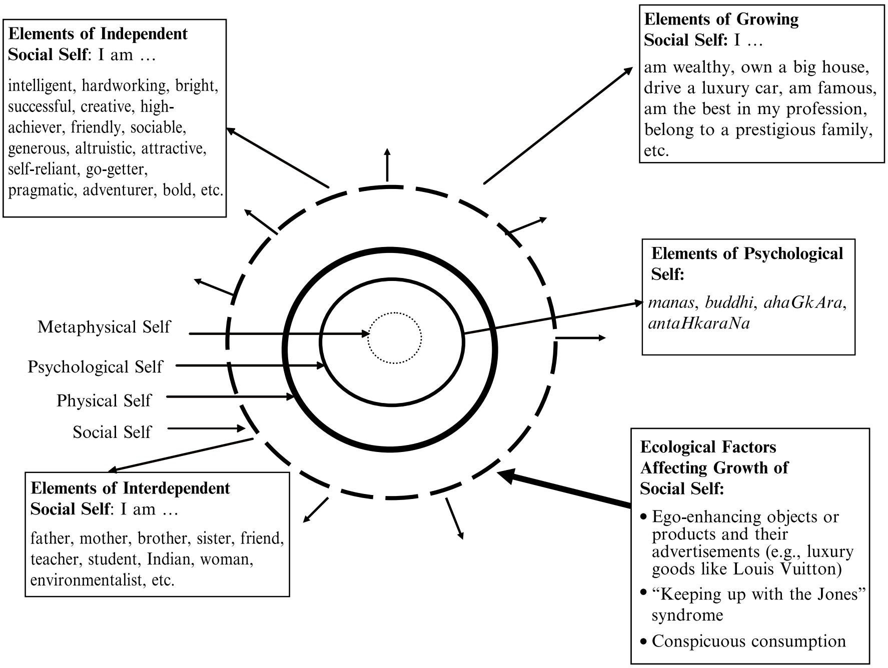


Figure 4.1 Indian concept of self: Physical, social, psychological, and metaphysical

of *manas*, *citta*, *buddhi*, *ahaGkAra*, *antaHkaraNa*, and so forth are critical to understanding the psychology of Indians, which are likely to be emic constructs. Figure 4.1 is a schematic representation of this conceptualization of the Indian self.

In the treatment of the biological self, Indian doctors, unlike their Western counterparts, make different assumptions about how the human body works. *Ayurveda*, a quite sophisticated system of medical treatment considers illness as a consequence of imbalance in the three basic elements present in human body, *kapha*, *vAta*, and *pitta*,[2] and treatment is based on trying to create a balance in the body. With the increased awareness and understanding of mind–body connections, and the success of *Ayurveda*, acupuncture, and other traditional healing systems in the West, there is some discourse to go beyond the quite mechanical Western notion of physical self as the only way to understand human self. Paranjpe's monumental work (1984, 1998) is an example of a synthesis of various conceptualizations of self. Paranjpe (1986, 1998) argued that the self is the experiential center of cognition, volition, and affect in that it is simultaneously the knower (*Atman*), the enjoyer or sufferer (*bhoktA*), and the agent (*kartA*).

Atman as Self in the *bhagavadgItA*

The metaphysical self or *Atman* (or soul)[3] is defined as the real or true self in the *bhagavadgItA*, and its characteristics are presented in verses 2.17 through 22. *Atman* is that which is not susceptible to destruction, something that does not go

---

[2] In Ayurveda it is posited that when the three elements (*tRdhAtus*), *kapha*, *vAta*, and *pitta*, are not in balance, then they give rise to *tRdoza* – *kapha*, *vAta*, and *pitta*. *tRdozas* can be understood as the three bodily humors, similar to the four humors in Western classical medical science that were called black bile, yellow bile, phlegm, and blood. The imbalance among these four made one ill. *kapha* is the energy needed to lubricate and rejuvenate, *vAta* is the energy of movement, and *pitta* is the energy of digestion and metabolism. The five elements *prithavi*-earth, *Apa*-water, *teja*-fire, *vAyu*-air, and *Akaza*-space interact to create the three *dozas*. *kapha* is formed from earth and water and provides the fluid for all elements and systems of the body. In balance, *kapha* is expressed as love, calmness, and forgiveness. Out of balance, it leads to attachment, greed and envy. *vAta* is made of Space and Air. It governs breathing, blinking, muscle and tissue movement, pulsation of the heart, and all movements at the cell level. In balance, *vAta* promotes creativity and flexibility. Out of balance, *vAta* produces fear and anxiety. *pitta* is made up of fire and water and expresses as the body's metabolic system. It governs digestion, absorption, assimilation, nutrition, metabolism, and body temperature. In balance, *pitta* promotes understanding and intelligence. Out of balance, *pitta* arouses anger, hatred, and jealousy. From: http://www.knowledgecommission.org/tridosha.html.

[3] Some scholars argue that the translation of *Atman* as soul is inaccurate and should be avoided (Bharati, 1985). Though most Indian psychologists that I know use the word soul as a translation of *Atman*, to be consistent with the scholarly tradition, I use the word *Atman* instead of soul in this book. The Western reader is stuck with an emic construct that at best is "somewhat similar" to soul in their cognitive framework or at worst is a totally alien construct without translation. For example, in Christianity, soul is either sent to heaven or hell based on one's performance in one single life, whereas in Hinduism, *Atman* goes through innumerable life cycles. Thus, though soul refers to something not physical, it is not quite *Atman*.

through modification, is unfathomable or unknowable, and eternal.[4] *Atman* does not kill or get killed[5]; it is never born, nor does it ever die; and it transcends time.[6] *Atman* is unborn, eternal, permanent, and ancient, and it does not die with the body. Using the metaphor of clothes, the human body is viewed like the clothes of the *Atman*; as we get rid of old clothes, so does the *Atman* leave the human body.[7] The *Atman* is characterized as one that cannot be cut into pieces by weapons (i.e., it is unbreakable or that which cannot be pierced), burned by fire, soaked by water (i.e., it is insoluble), or dried by wind.[8] In verses 2.24, 25, and 29, the *Atman* is further characterized as all pervading, stable, immobile, and eternal[9]; as unmanifest, beyond perception, and unmodifiable[10]; and described to be simply amazing to see, amazing to talk about, and amazing to listen to; so amazing that most of us do not understand it.[11] These verses categorically state that there are two aspects of human existence – the body and *Atman*; the body is temporary, and *Atman* is eternal.

We also find support for the model presented in Figure 4.1 in other texts. For example, the six verses of the *zivo'haM stotra* written by *Adi zankara* clearly alludes to the metaphysical, physical, psychological, and the social self (Bhawuk, 2005). *Adi zankara* starts by negating the psychological self – I am not the *manas* (or mind), *buddhi* (or intellect), *ahaGkAr* (or ego)[12]; and then physical self – ear, tongue, nose, or eyes. Then he negates the social self – I am not ether, earth, fire, or air,[13] and he ends the verse by declaring the real self to be the metaphysical self – I am happiness (*cidAnand*), I am *ziva*, I am *ziva*. He also denies such socially constructed concepts as merit, sin, sacred chants, visiting of holy places, studying of the *vedas*, performance of spiritual rites (*yajna*), as well as emotions like happiness

---

[4] *avinAzi* or *anAzin, avyaya, aprameya,* and *nitya.*

[5] Verse 2.19: *ya enaM vetti hantAram yazcainaM manyate hatam; ubhau tau na vijAnIto nAyaM hanti na hanyate.*

[6] Verse 2.20: *na jAyate mRyate va kadAcin nAyam bhUtva bhavitA va na bhUyah; ajo nityaH* zA*zvato'yam purANo na hanyate hanyamAne zarIre.*

[7] Verse 2.22: *vAsAMsi jIrNAni yathA vihAya navAni gRhnAti naro'parANi, tathA zarIrAnNi vihAya jIrNanyanyAni saMyAti navAni dehI.*

[8] Verse 2.23: *nainaM chindanti zastrANi nainam dahati pAvakaH, na cainam kledayantyapo na zoSayati mArutaH.*

[9] Verse 2.24: *acchedyo'ayamadAhyo'yamakledyo'zoSya eva ca, nityaH sarvagataH sthANuracalo'yaM sanAtanaH.*

[10] Verse 2.25: *avyakto'yamacintyo'yamavikaryo'yamucyate. tasmAdevaM viditvainaMnAnuzocitumarhasi.*

[11] *Azcaryavatpasyati kazcidenamazcaryavadvadati tathaiva cAnyaH; AzcaryavaccainamanyaH zRNoti shrutvApyenaM veda na caiva kazcit.*

[12] Though mind, intellect, and ego are not a part of our physical self and are more a part of our psychological self, they seem to be as concrete as the other organs, and we talk about them much like our physical organs.

[13] In the Indian social construction of self, self is argued to be made of five elements: ether, earth, fire, air, and ego. Since this in not a physiological fact, I am positing that it is the part of the Indian socially constructed self.

and sorrow. In the final verse, he describes the real self as one without an alternative, formless, as the power everywhere, and as the power of all the physical organs. He further defines the metaphysical self as something immeasurable or nondiscernable and negates even nonattachment and the desire for ultimate freedom. All six verses end with – I am happiness, I am *ziva*, I am *ziva* (see Figure 4.2). Thus, we can see that the Indian concept of self does include physical, social, and metaphysical self, but the metaphysical self is considered the real self, and the objective of human life is to realize the real self.

The social self not only consists of physical or psychological traits sampled more often by individualists who have an independent concept of self, but also the social relationships and identity descriptors sampled more frequently by collectivists who have an interdependent concept of self. Besides these there are other "Elements of the Growing Self" (see Figure 4.1) that get added to our identity box as we advance in our careers and acquire wealth, house, special equipment, and professional success. There are many ecological factors that also affect the development of our social self. For example, while pursuing a materialistic life, we are often motivated to do what our neighbors or colleagues do, aptly expressed in the expression "keeping up with the Jones'." We also indulge in conspicuous consumption to gratify our various needs and add to our social self in the process. Finally, we are constantly drawn toward the ego-enhancing

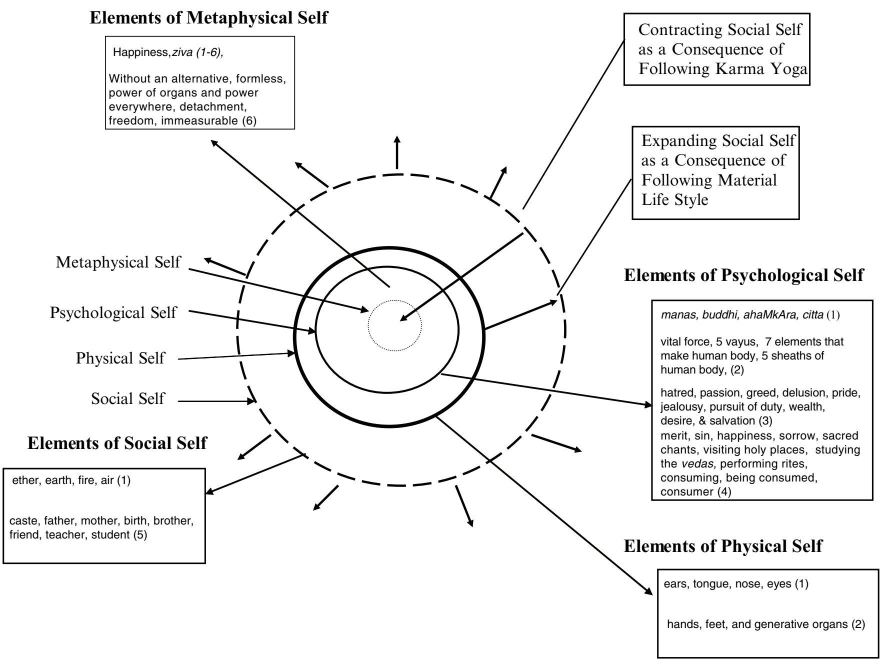


Figure 4.2 Indian concept of self (with examples from *Adi zankara's zivo'haM, stotra*)

objects or luxury products that are aggressively advertised by companies like Louis Vuitton ("Vuitton Machine," 2004). All these lead to an endless, perhaps infinite, growth in our social self. This explosive growth of social self is much like the expansion of the universe captured in the entropy principle (i.e., entropy of the universe is increasing). Figure 4.1 is a schematic representation of this expanding social self.

In the light of Figures 4.1 and 4.2, it is quite clear that the social self includes both interdependent and independent concepts of selves, and Indians are likely to sample both of them (Sinha & Tripathi, 1994). In addition, in the Indian conceptualization of self, the self also extends to the metaphysical self (i.e., *Atman*), beyond the social self, and so an Indian is likely to also have a metaphysical concept of self. Interestingly, since all *Atmans* are a part of the divine, they are construed as being actually identical. When *Atman* meets with the Supreme Being, *brahman*, it is said to become a part of the Supreme Being. In that paradigm, when one experiences the real self, one becomes a part of the infinite supreme being. In other words, much like the social self that has the potential to grow infinitely, the real self has the potential to become a part of the infinite being. Thus, the Indian concept of self expands to be infinite socially and contracts socially for the true self to expand to be infinite metaphysically (Bhawuk, 2008c; see Figure 4.3). This conceptualization of the self is critical to the understanding of psychological processes in the Indian cultural context.

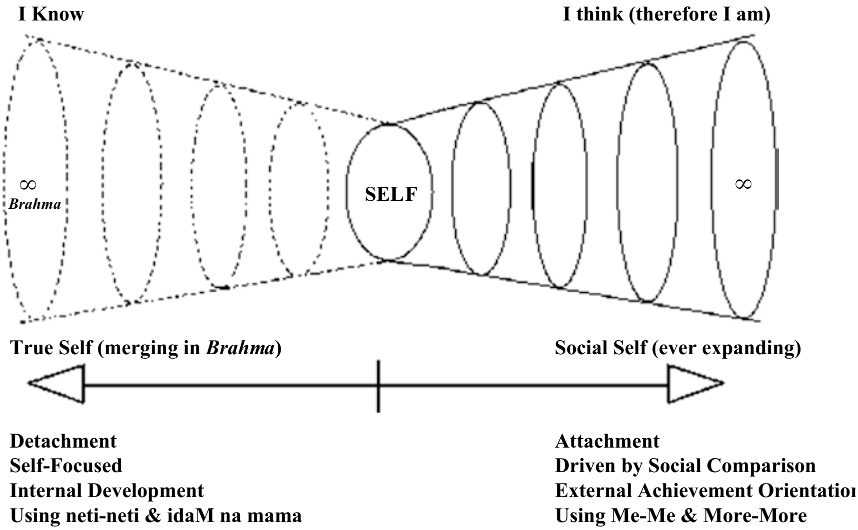


Figure 4.3 Indian concept of self: The social and spiritual dimensions [adapted from Bhawuk, (2008c)]

Concept of Physical Self in the *vedic sandhyA*

Physical self is emphasized in the oldest of Indian scriptures. For example, it is said in the *Rgveda,* "*azmA bhavatu nastanUH,*" or, our body should be like a stone or thunderbolt. In the *vedic* times, people started and ended their day with a *sandhyA*, which was done right after sunrise and before sunset. This practice has continued to this day and *gurukul* (traditional Sanskrit medium schools) students are taught to do it daily. People who are raised in the Hindu tradition, especially Brahmins, also practice it. And it is encouraged by the *Arya samAj* tradition started by Swami Dayanand Saraswati, and many of the followers of this tradition also practice it. In doing *sandhyA*, one starts by praying for strength and wellness of various body parts starting with mouth (*vak*), nose (*praNaH*), eyes (*chakSuH*), ears (*zrotraM*), navel (*nabhiH*), heart (*hRdayaM*), throat (*kanThaH*), head (*ziraH*), arms (*bAhubhyAM*), and both sides of hands (*kartalkarapriSthe*).[14] In another invocation, one goes from head to feet by thinking about throat, heart, and navel, and then back to head.[15] In doing a *vedic agnihotra* also, one starts by touching and praying for strength in various body parts.[16] The objective is to be aware of the body, and to take care of it. Thus, the physical body is paid attention to and given importance despite the primacy of the *Atman* and the spiritual journey that would lead one to the realization of *Atman* or union with God.

Concept of Self in the *upaniSads*

The above model is consistent with the *paJca koza* (or five sheaths) model of the self presented in the *taittirIya upaniSad*. *paJca koza* is used by the practitioners of *Ayurveda* and includes *annamaya*, *prANamaya*, *manomaya*, *vijnAnamaya*, and *Anandamaya* in decreasing order of grossness; *annamaya* is the most gross and A*nandamaya* is the most subtle. In fact only the first two *annamaya* and *prANamaya* refer to concrete elements like human body and breathing, whereas the other three are what psychologists would call constructs, or socially constructed

---

[14] *om vAk vAk, om prANaH prANaH, om chakSuH chakSuH, om zrotraM zrotraM, om nAbhiH, om hRdayaM, om kanThaH, om ziraH, om bAhubhyAM yazobalam, om kartalkarapriSThe.*

[15] *om bhUH punAtu zirasi;om bhuvaH punAtu netrayoH; om svaH punAtu KanThe; om mahaH punAtu hRdaye; om janaH punAtu nAbhyAm; om tapaH punAtu pAdayoH; om satyam punAtu punaH zirasi; om khaM brahman punAtu sarvatra.*

[16] *om vaGme Asye'stu; om nasorme prANo'astu; om akSNorme cakSurastu; om karNayorme zrotramastu; om bahvorme balamastu; om Urvorme ojo'stu; om ariSTAni me'aNgAni tanUstanvA me saha santu.*

ideas whose effects can be studied. *annamaya* refers to the body, which is nourished by the grains or *anna*, thus acquiring this label. *prANamaya* refers to the breathing and the related bodily processes and consequences. *manomaya* refers to *manas,* which is loosely and erroneously translated as mind. *manas*, as we will see below is the center for cognition, emotion, and behavioral intention as well as behavior, and hence it is wrong to translate it as mind. *manas* is clearly an emic construct that cannot be translated in English. *vijnAnamaya* refers to the faculty that helps us evaluate and discriminate, and *Anandamaya* refers to the metaphysical self. In the *paJca koza* model of the self, the social self is neglected, which is important to understand human psychology as well as emotion; therefore, the models presented in Figures 4.1–4.3 may be more useful.

Concept of Self in yoga

The importance given to the physical body can be seen in yoga, which includes postures that address each part of the body, both external and internal. For example, *zirsAsan* (head stand) is for the head and for improving blood circulation throughout the body; *halAsana* (plough posture) is for the backbone; *mayurAsana* (peacock posture) is for the internal organs in the stomach; *matsyAsana* (fish posture) is for neck and chest; and so forth. *hatha-yoga* or *yogAsanas* are used by those who pursue a spiritual life to prepare the body and mind for union with *brahman*. The health benefits of *yogAsanas* are ancillary to the ultimate goal of becoming one with *brahman*; nevertheless, the importance of the physical body in pursuing a spiritual practice is emphasized in *hatha-yoga*. This spirit is reflected in many metaphors like human body is a temple, it is our responsibility to maintain the body as a gift from *brahman*, and so forth. Thus, concept of self in yoga clearly includes the physical self.

We also find that much value is placed on the physical body in many traditions of meditation that would be categorized as *rAja yoga*. For example, Swami Yoganand in his teachings on *kriyA yoga* placed importance on the body and suggested many exercises to become aware of various parts of the body to which one does not pay attention to in the daily activity (e.g., toes, body joints, and so forth). The purpose is to have consciousness flow in every limb of the body and thus prepare the body before sitting down to meditate. Thus, the physical self is an important part of Indian self in both meditation and *yoga*. It should be noted that importance of physical self often gets sidelined because of the many strictures placed on the value of human body in the scriptures, as also the constant reminder that human body is like a prison, a house with nine portals, a distraction, and that people should rise above the physical self and focus on realizing *Atman*. Despite such put downs, physical self is quite important in the Indian concept of self.

Concept of Self in *durgA saptazatI*

This model also finds support in other *paurAnik* texts. For example, many verses in the section that is called the *kavacaM* or the protective armor in the *durgA saptazati* text are presented in which one prays to many forms of the Goddess for protection from all directions of the physical body and the psychological as well as the social self. In verses 17–21, aindrI is invoked to protect in the east, agnidevatA in the southeast, vArAhI in the south, khadagdhAriNI in the southwest, vArunI in the west, mrigavAhinI in the northwest, kaumArI in the north, zUladhArinI in the northeast, bramhANI in the upward direction, vaiSNavI in the downward direction, and cAmundA in all ten directions. Further, jayA is invoked to protect the person doing the prayer in the front, vijayA behind, ajitA on the left, and aparAjitA on the right side.

Having prayed for protection in all directions by referring to each of the ten directions and then also by referring to them with respect to the person – front, back, and the two sides – the next verses invoke a particular form of the Goddess for a particular part of the body. For example, in verses 21–33, the person prays for one body part at a time by invoking a unique form of the Goddess – udyotinI is invoked to protect the *zikhA* (the tuft of hair on the top of one's head, top of the parietal[17]), umA may protect by situating herself on the top of the head, mAlAdharI-forehead, yazasvinI-eyebrows, trinetrA-middle of the eyebrows, yamaghanTA-nostril, zaGkhinI-the center of both the eyes, dvAravAsinI-ears, *kAlI*kA-cheeks, zAMkarI-the root of the ears, sugandhA-nostrils,[18] carcikA-upper lip, amritkalA-lower lip, saraswatI-tounge, kaumArI-teeth, candikA-throat area, citraghanTA-Adam's apple, mahAmAyA-palate, *kAmAkSi*-chin, sarvamangalA-voice, bhadra*kAlI*-neck, dhanurdharI-backbone, nIlagrIvA-outside throat area, nalakUbarI-the throat or food pipe, khadginI-shoulders, vajradhAriNI-arms, danDinI-hands, ambikA-fingers, zUlezvari-nails of the hand, kulezvarI-stomach, *mahAdevI*-breasts, zokvinazinI-*manas*, lalitA-heart, zUladhArinI-inside stomach, kAminI-natal, guhyezvarI-anus, pUtanA and kAmikA-penus, mahiSavAhinI-rectum, bhagavatI-waist, vindhyavAsinI-knee, mahAbalA-thigh, nArasiMhI-ankle, taijasi-top of feet, ZR-toes, talavAsinI-sole or under the feet, daMStrakarAlI-nails of the toes, urdhvakezinI-hair, kauberI-body pores, and vAgIzvarI-skin.

---

[17] It is indeed interesting that there is no exact translation for *zikhA*, which is used all the time in the Indian culture. Traditionally, the Brahmins grew their *zikhA*, like a ponytail and shaved the rest of the hair. *zikhA* was to remain tied most of the time in performing rituals. People of every other caste kept long *zikhA* even though they did not shave the other parts of their head, which started to change with the impact of the British. I carried *zikhA* until the age of 17 despite peer pressure against having it and facing ridicule from other students.

[18] yamaghaNtA and sugandhA are invoked for the nostrils, and it is likely that yamaghanTA is to protect the upper part of the nostril, whereas sugandhA is to protect the entry of the nostril. This is plausible following the logic that we are moving from the head downward.

Having covered all the body parts, or the *annamayakoza*, in the following verses, internal organs of the body are prayed for. In verses 33–35, Goddess pArvatI is invoked to protect blood, bone marrow, *vasA*, flesh, skeleton, and fat, kAlarAtR-the intestine, mukutezvarI-*pitta*, padmAvatI-*padmakoza* or the *cakras*,[19] cudAmaNi-*kapha*, jvAlAmukhI-the brilliance in the nails, abhedyA-all joints of the body. Since *kapha*, *vAta*, and *pitta* are *Ayurvedic* constructs, they could be considered socially constructed elements of self, and thus we see that the prayer goes from physical self to socially constructed self.

In verses 35–39, we see the continuation of prayer for physical self but also elements of psychological and social self: bramhANi-semen (this is physical element of the body, but it also has much socially constructed meaning in the Indian culture), chatrezvarI-shadow, dharmadhArinI-*ahaGkAra*, *manas*, and *buddhi* (psychological constructs that together constitute what is referred to as *antaHkaraNa*, or the internal agent, which in turns refers to the *manomayakoza* discussed earlier); vajrahastA-the five forms of air we breathe, i.e., prAna, apAna, vyAna, udAna, samAna, which refers to the *prANamaya koza* discussed earlier; and kalyAnazobhanA-*prANa*. Thus, verse 37 is dedicated to the invocation of two forms of the Goddess for the protection of the *prANamaya koza*. In verse 38, yogini is invoked to protect one while using the five senses to enjoy taste (using tongue), form (using eyes), smell (using nose), sound (using ears), and touch (using skin); and nArAyanI is invoked to protect the three *guNas* of *satva*, *rajas*, and *tamas* – which again are socially constructed concepts.

In verse 39, vArAhI is invoked for long life, vaiSNavI for *dharma* or duty, and cakRNI for success or glory (*yaza*), fame (*kIrti; yaza* and *kIrti* are synonyms), money (laxami and *dhanaM* are also synonyms), and knowledge (or *vidyA*). These are all socially constructed ideas, and it should be noted that the Indian culture values *yaza* and *kIrti*, which is high opinion of others, or refers to socially accepted outcomes. It is no surprise that a culture that values *yaza* and *kIrti* is extremely norm driven. After all following social norms can lead to social stamp and *kIrti*.

In verse 40, indrANi is invoked to protect the *gotra* or the extended family; candikA to protect the cattle; *mahAlakSmI* for protecting the sons; and bhairavI for protecting one's wife. This verse clearly refers to the social self, indicating that the Indians value family, and the cattle are included in the family. In verse 41, the person prays to supathA to protect while traveling, kshemakarI to protect the way (*mArga* literally means the road), and *mahAlakSmI* to protect when called to the king's court, and vijayA everywhere. In verse 42, general protection is sought by praying to the Goddess who is ever victorious and destroyer of sin to cover all the places not categorically stated in the earlier verses.

---

[19] It could be referring to *vAta*, since *pitta* is mentioned before *padmkoze*, and *kapha* is mentioned after *padmakoze*. *padmakoza*, however, does refer to the *cakras*. *cakras* refer to the six energy centers in the spinal column that goes from the base of the spine to the middle of the forehead. They are each called *mulAdhAra* at the base of the spine below the sacrum, *svAdhisThAna* at the reproductive parts level, *maNipura* at the navel level, *anAhata* at the heart level, *vizuddha* at the throat level, ajna at the eyebrow or forehead level; and the seventh one, *sahasrAra,* is at the top of head.

Thus, we can see that the Hindus do not neglect the physical body, and in fact they care about it so much that they have a daily prayer to protect the body. Also, the concept of self includes physical self, psychological self, social self, and other socially constructed concepts. Verses 43–56 describe the benefits of chanting these verses daily, which include achievement of every desire, victory in every activity, incomparable wealth, freedom from accidental death, and long life beyond 100 years in which one would enjoy children and grandchildren.

Concept of Self and *antaHkaraNa*

In the *bhagavadgItA*, there are also other definitions of self that are important in understanding the Indian self-conception. In verse 7.4, self is defined as constituting of eight parts – earth, water, fire, air, space, *manas*, *buddhi*, and *ahaGkAra*. This is important because the concept of self is tied to the environment and could be divided into external and internal self. *manas*, *buddhi*, and *ahaGkAra* constitute the internal self, and together they are referred to as the *antaHkaraNa*, or the internal instrument of mental, emotional, verbal, and physical activities. In the 13th Canto, this is further elaborated by stating that the body is the field, and *Atman* is the knower of the body, and a *jnAni* (one who knows) knows both the field and the knower of the field. Later in verse 7.5, the field is further divided into the five elements of knowledge, five elements of action, the five subjects of the knowledge (earth, fire, water, air, and space), five experiences of these elements of the nature, *manas*, *buddhi*, *ahaGkAra*, and *Atman.* This is also referred to as the 24 basic elements in sAGkhya philosophy. Thus, *ahaGkAra* is an important component of self, and we will see later in Chapter 7 how this interacts with the environment to create unhappiness. *buddhi* helps in the process of realizing the *Atman* by systematically detaching oneself from the material experience and existence. *manas* is the internal agent that is the center of cognition, emotion, and behavioral intention, and this is discussed next.

Concept of Self and *manas*

The concept of *manas* is a critical component of the concept of self in the Indian culture, as can be seen in the persistence of this construct from the *vedas* to the modern times. Though the examination of *manas* has received some attention in Indian philosophy, its value as a psychological construct has been neglected. Perhaps because philosophers do not think of constructs the way psychologists think, *manas* has been erroneously translated as mind by both Western and Indian scholars (Edgerton, 1944; Radhakrishnan & Moore, 1957) and practitioners and *gurus* (PrabhupAda, 1986). In this section, the concept of *manas* is mapped from various Indian texts as well as the contemporary Indian culture, and it will become

transparent that translating *manas* as mind limits the construct significantly since mind is limited to cognition, whereas *manas* captures cognition, emotion, and behavior. To get a glimpse of the *vedic* concept of *manas*, some verses from the *yajurveda* are examined. Since these verses constitute a part of the *rudra aSTAd-hyayi*, which is chanted daily in many parts of India and Nepal, it was considered particularly important as it has relevance for people in their lives even today. Following this, the concept of *manas* is examined in the *bhagavadgItA,* and it becomes quite transparent that *manas* is an important part of Indian concept of self.

In the *yajurveda,* there are six verses in Canto 34 that sing praises to *manas by* anthropomorphizing it. A prayer is offered to *manas* in these verses, and all the six verses end with the same prayer to *manas* – *tanme manaH zivasaGkalpamastu* (may my *manas* take an auspicious determination). An analysis of these verses leads to distilling some of the characteristics of *manas*. In verse 34.1, *manas* is identified as a traveler (when we are awake, our *manas* travels far – *yajjAgrato dUramudaiti daivaM*). *manas* travels not only when we are awake but also when we are asleep (*tadu suptasya tathaivaiti*), and it is in charge even when we are sleeping. It is said to be the light of the other organs (*dUraGgamaM jyotiSAM jyotirekaM*) and it is implied that it is the master of all sense organs. And finally, it is an instrument for the *jIvAtmA* (*daivaM ekaM*). In verse 34.2 of *yajurveda,* the following three characteristics of *manas* are identified: Thoughtful and intelligent people or sages who apply themselves to proper *karma* use *manas* in the performance of *yajna* (*yena karmANyapaso manISiNo yajne kRinvantu vidatheSu dhIrAH*), i.e., m*anas* is needed in the performance of auspicious deeds or *yajna*. *manas* stays in the center of the body of living beings and it stays in the *yajna* as a venerable being (*yadpUrvaM yakSamantaH prajAnAM*).

In verse 34.3, the following three characteristics of *manas* are noted: *manas* is characterized simultaneously as having extreme patience (*dhIraH*) and as the deep thinker or experiencer of awareness (*chetaH*), as it contemplates on special knowledge (*prajnA*; *yatprajnAnamuta cheto dhRtizca*). Further, *manas* is characterized as the immortal light within the living being (*yajjyotirantaramRtaM prajAsu*), and without *manas* no work can be performed (*yasmAnna Rte kiJcan karma kRyate*), or *manas* is said to be the performer of all works. In verse 34.4, the following two characteristics of *manas* are presented: *manas* is characterized as indestructible and the holder of all that is in the past, present, and the future (*yenedaMbhUtaM bhuvanaM bhaviSyat parigRhItamamRtena sarvam*). In other words, without *manas* we cannot experience or understand the three phases of time – past, present, and future. *manas* is indestructible. *manas* is beyond time or transcends time. *manas* permeates the seven elements (body, work organs, sense organs, *manas*, *buddhi*, *Atman*, and *paramAtmA*) and spreads the *yajna* and is thus characterized as the one that nourishes *yajna* (*yena yajnastAyate saptahotA*). It is interesting to note that *saptahotA* by definition includes *manas*, and it is clearly not only different from body, work organs, and sense organs, but also from *buddhi*, *Atman,* and *paramAtmA*.

In verse 34.5, the following three characteristics of *manas* are noted. *manas* is characterized as the seat of the verses of the *vedas* (*yasminRcaH sAma yajuMSi yasmin pratiSThitA rathanAbhAvivArAH*). Since *vedas* are provided the highest

honor in the Hindu philosophy, by calling *manas* the citadel of the *vedas*, *manas* is lifted to the highest level. *manas* is further characterized as the holder of the chariot that the *vedas* are and *samaveda* and *yajurveda* are mentioned. Interestingly, *yajurveda* is referred to in a verse that is considered a part of this *veda*. The use of metaphor further highlights the role of *manas* in the learning of the *vedas*. And to further facilitate the mapping of the *manas*, it is said to be permeating the *cittaM* of living being (*yasmizcittaM sarvamotaM prajAnAM*). This is particularly interesting because generally *cittaH* is perceived as more abstract and subtle than *manas*, and in this verse *manas* is said to be permeating *cittaH*, much like *brahman* permeates the universe (e.g., *IzopaniSad*, verse 1).

Finally, in verse 34.6, the following three characteristics of *manas* are captured. *manas* is characterized as the able charioteer who controls the horses of the chariot in different directions as necessary (*suSArathirazvAniva yanmanuSyAnnenIyat'bhI zubhirvAjina iva).* A metaphor is used to characterize *manas* as the controller of the journey of human life. *manas* is characterized as the entity that directs humans toward various goals. And finally the seat of *manas* is stated to be the human heart, and it is characterized as something that does not get old and is very powerful (*hRtapratiSThaM yadajiraM javiSThaM*).

It is clear from the above that *manas* is a complex construct. These six verses present 24 characteristics of *manas*, and many of them are captured in metaphors. These characteristics provide a rich description of the construct of *manas* and could be the starting point for developing a typology and a theory of *manas*. It should be particularly noted that the *vedic* sages found it appropriate to pray to the *manas* before starting auspicious tasks or deeds related to *yajna*, which continues to this day as these verses are chanted at the beginning of the *rudra aStAdhyayi*, as well as before *yajna* done in the tradition of *Arya samAj*.

manas appears in many places in the *bhagavadgItA* (1.30, 2.55 & 60 & 67, 3.40, 3.42, 5.19, 6: 12, 14, 25, 26, 34, 35; 7.4, 8.12, 10.22, 11.45, 12.2 & 8, 15.7 & 9, 17.11 & 16, 18.33; *cittam*: 6.18, 19, & 20, 12.9) in many contexts, and an analysis of its uses in this text helps us formulate a typology that is similar to the one derived from the *yajurveda* and yet has its unique features. *manas* appears in the first Canto only once. It appears in verse 30 when *arjuna* is describing how his *manas* was confused.[20] Unlike as would be proper in English, *arjuna* is not saying that he is confused, but says that his *manas* is confused. Confusion is a state of *manas*, and so by extension, it can also be without confusion or see things clearly, as we would say in English – with a clear mind. This use of *manas* is the closest to the English construct of mind.

In the second Canto, *manas* appears three times in verses 55, 60, and 67. In verse 2.55, *kRSNa* begins to describe the characteristics of a *sthitaprajna* person to *arjuna*.[21]

---

[20] Verse 1.30: *gAndIvaM sraMsate hastAttvakcaiva paridahyate; na ca zaknomyavasthAtuM bhramatIva ca me manaH*. The *gAndIva* is slipping from my hand, my skin is burning, my *manas* is confused, and I am not even able to keep standing.

[21] Verse 2.55: *prajahAti yadA kAmAn sarvAn pArtha manogatAn; AtmanyevAtmanA tuSTaH sthitaprajnastadocyate*. When a person gives up all the desires in his manas and remains satisfied within his self, he or she is said to be a *sthitaprajna*.

When a person gives up all desires that are in his *manas* and remains satisfied within his self, then he or she is known to be a *sthitaprajna*. In this verse, *manas* is characterized as the seat of all desires. The relationship between desires and *manas* is an important part of Indian concept of self. It is particularly important that *manas* appears in the description of a *sthitaprajna* or a person who is in complete balance and harmony. In the next verse, the relationship between *manas* and other senses is established.

In verse 2.60, *kRSNa* tells *arjuna* that by nature human senses tend to churn, and they are so powerful that they take the *manas* away from even a wise person who is making effort to control the senses.[22] The verse indicates that the senses do not work on their own but work through the *manas*, and they have a reciprocal relationship. Sometimes the senses are so powerful that they capture the *manas* of even a wise person. The relationship between *manas* and the senses is further elaborated in verse 2.67. Here, *kRSNa* uses the metaphor of a boat getting captured by the wind to follow its direction of flow to explain to *arjuna* how the *prajnA* (or *buddhi*) or the discerning power of the *manas* of a person gets captured by the one sense that he or she is using.[23] This verse indicates that *prajnA* (or *buddhi*) resides in the *manas*, and that *manas* can get captured by the sense that it is using or is associated with.

In the third Canto of the *bhagavadgItA*, the nature of *karma* is discussed, and desires play an important role in understanding it. Thus, in this Canto, the relationship of *manas* with desires is explained. In verse 3.40, *kRSNa* explains to *arjuna* that desire is said to be residence of the senses, *manas*, and *buddhi*, and by covering the *jnana* or knowledge of the person desire confuses him or her.[24] Thus, a complex web of reciprocal relationship among *manas*, senses, *buddhi*, and desires is presented here. In the next verse, the hierarchy among these constructs is established. In verse 3.41, *kRSNa* explains to *arjuna* that the five senses are said to be superior to the body, whereas the *manas* is considered superior to the senses. *buddhi* is said to be superior to *manas*, and the *atman* is superior to even *buddhi*.[25] Thus, *manas* is above the body and senses, which is also captured in the Indian conceptualization of self where *manomaya* is more subtle than the *annamaya* and

---

[22] Verse 2.60: *yatato hyapi kaunteya puruSasya vipazcitaH; indriyaNi pramAthIni haranti prasabhaM manaH*. The churning human senses are so powerful that they take the manas away from even a wise person who is making effort to control the senses.

[23] Verse 2.67: *indriyaNAM hi caratAM yanmano'nu vidhIyate; tadasya harati prajnAM vAyurnAvamivAmbhasi*. Just like a boat is captured to follow the direction of the wind, so does the discerning power of the manas of a person gets captured by the one sense that he or she is using.

[24] Verse 3.40: *indriyaNi mano buddhirasyadhiSThanamucyate; etairvimohayatyeSa jnAnamAvRtya dehinam*. The senses, manas, and buddhi are said to be its place of residence. By covering knowledge through them desire confuses the person. Kama is not referred to in this verse directly but is denoted by the pronoun eSaH as kama was addressed in the previous verse.

[25] Verse 3.42: *indriyaNi parANyahurindriyebhyaH paraM manaH; manasastu parA budhhiryo buddheH paratastu saH*. The five senses are said to be superior to the body, and the manas is superior to the senses. Buddhi is said to be superior to manas, and the *Atman* is superior to even buddhi.

prANamaya selves. But more subtle than the *manomaya* self are *vijnAnmaya* and A*nandamaya* selves. Thus, *manas* stands in the middle of the five-level concept of self and thus is an intermediary in understanding the *Atman*.

In verse 5.19, the value of having a balanced *manas* is described, which reflects the value of the construct for people who are pursuing a spiritual journey. *kRSNa* explains to *arjuna* that those whose *manas* is established in equanimity or in balance have conquered the universe in this life itself; because *brahman* is without fault and is in balance, and those who have established their *manas* in balance have in effect established themselves in *brahman*.[26] This verse suggests that the path of self-realization is characterized by balancing of the *manas*. This is an important characteristic of *manas* and shows its link to Indian concept of spirituality.

In the sixth Canto, which deals with *dhyAnayoga*, *manas* is referred to in eight verses (6: 12, 14, 24, 25, 26, 27, 34, and 35), which is the most number of times that *manas* is referred to in any Canto of the *bhagavadgItA*. This alludes to the significance of the relationship between *dhyAnayoga* and *manas*. In verse 6.12,[27] the practice of *dhyAnayoga* is presented as the method of purifying the self, and to do this it is suggested that the practitioner should bring his *manas* to a single point. *Adi zankara* explains this in his commentary on the *bhagavadgItA* as the process of pulling away of the *manas* from all its potential to reach places and objects (*sarvaviSayebhya upasaMhRtya*). This process is captured by another compound word in the verse (*yatcittendriyakRyaH*), which sheds light on the process of developing a single-pointed *manas* by controlling the activities of the organs and *citta* (or *manas*). Thus, *dhyAnayoga* is defined as the practice of focusing the *manas* on a single point. In other words, the training of *manas* is the process of *dhyAnayoga*. This is consistent with the famous second verse of *pAtanjal yogasutra* – *yogazcittavRttinirodhaH* – or yoga (or *dhyAnayoga*) is the process or technique of controlling the outward movement of *citta* or *manas*.

Also, *cittam* is used on three occasions in the sixth Canto as a synonym of *manas* in verses 6.18, 6.19, and 6.20. In verse 6.18, it is stated that a person is said to be *yukta* or *samadhisTha* (connected with *brahman*) when he or she with a controlled *citta* or *manas* stays in the self (as compared to the *manas* running around in the outside material world) and is devoid of desire or any passion for anything. In verse 6.19, a metaphor is used to compare a yogi's *manas* or *citta* with that of an unflickering lamp. Just like a lamp does not flicker when it is in a room where there is no wind, a yogi who has conquered his *citta* or *manas* stays in *samAadhi* (or deep meditation). And finally, in verse 6.20, it is stated that when a yogi controls his *citta*

---

[26] Verse 5.19: *ihaiva tairjitaH sargo yeSAM sAmye sthitaM manaH; nirdoSaM hi samaM brahman tasmAd brahmaNi te sthitAH*. Those whose manas is established in equanimity have conquered the universe in this life itself. As Brahma is without fault and is in balance, those who have established their manas in balance have established themselves in Brahma.

[27] Verse 6.12: *tatraikAgraM manaH kRtva yatcittendRyakRyaH; upavizyasane yuJjyAdyogamAtmavizuddhaye*. By sitting on the seat (described in the previous verse), by controlling the activities of the organs and the citta, and by making the manas single pointed, the practitioner should practice yoga to purify his or herself.

or *manas*, he experiences contentment within himself, thus suggesting the need to control the *manas* for spiritual contentment.

In verses 6.13[28] and 6.14,[29] *kRSNa* gives his instructions about how to meditate. One should sit upright with body, neck, and head straight, unmoving, and stable. One should look at the tip of one's nose without looking elsewhere or in any other direction. One should follow the discipline of a *brahmacAri*, be without any fear, and should be at peace internally. One should completely end the wandering of the *manas,* engage *citta* (or *manas*) in *kRSNa*, and be devoted to *kRSNa*. Thus, *manas* is mentioned in verse 6.14 in three contexts. First, controlling the wandering nature of *manas* is a key element of the practice of *dhyAna*. Second, engaging *citta* or *manas* in *kRSNa* is needed to practice *dhyAna*. And finally, *manas* needs to be at peace for internal peace or for the *antaHkaraNa* to be at peace since *antaHkaraNa* includes *manas*, *buddhi*, and *ahaGkAra*.

In verses 6.24–6.27,[30] *manas* is referred to once in each of the verses. In verse 6.24, *manas* is to be used to control all the sense organs. Thus, it is considered superior to the other sense organs as noted earlier. It could also be viewed as an instrument to control the senses. Or alternatively, it could be argued that by controlling the *manas* one is able to control all the sense organs. In verse 6.25, it is stated that one should patiently use *buddhi* to slowly calm oneself down to the extent that *manas* is absorbed in the self or *Atman.* Here, the degree of calmness is clarified. *manas* has to be so calm and so withdrawn from the external environment that it is completely absorbed in *Atman* itself. Only when the *manas* is totally absorbed in *Atman* that it is possible to not think about anything else. And the internal organ that helps do this is *buddhi*. Thus, in verses 24 and 25, the role and state of *manas* in *dhyAna* is captured, and the role of *buddhi* in taming the *manas* is established. In verse 6.35,[31] *kRSNa* further states that the way to tame the *manas* is through practice and detachment, and *buddhi* being the authority over *manas* clearly has a role to play in this process.

In verse 6.26, it is stated that wherever the unstable and fickle *manas* goes, one should persuade it not to go there or control it from going there and should keep it

[28] Verse 6.13: *samaM kAyazirogrIvaM dhArayannacalaM sthiraH; samprekSya nAsikAgraM svaM dizazcAnavalokayan*.

[29] Verse 6.14: *prazAntAtmA vigatabhIrbrahmacArivrate sthitaH; manaH saMyamya maccitto yukta AsIta matparaH*.

[30] Verse 6.24: *saGkalpaprabhavAnkAmaMstyaktvA sarvAnazeSataH; manasaivendriyagrAmaM viniyamya samantataH*.

Verse 6.25: *zanaiH zanairuparamedbuddhayA dhRtigRhItayA; AtmasaMsthaM manaH kRtvA na kiJcidapi cintayet*.

Verse 6.26: *yato yato nizcarati manazcaJcalamasthiram; tatastato niyamyaitadAtmanyeva vazaM nayet*.

Verse 6.27: *prazAntamanasaM hyenaM yoginaM sukhamuttamam; upaiti zAntarajasaM brahmabhUtamakalmaSam*.

[31] Verse 6.35: *asaMzayaM mahAbAho mano durnigrahaM calam; abhyAsena tu kaunteya vairAgyeNa ca gRhyate.*

within the self under the control of the *Atman* or absorbed in the *Atman*. Implicit is the role of *buddhi* in this activity, which was stated in the previous verse. The strength of *manas* is further stated in verse 6.34[32] where *arjuna* states that controlling the *manas* is as difficult as controlling the wind since it is fickle, forceful, unwavering in its chosen locus, and able to churn the sense organs (verse 2.60) as well as *buddhi* (verse 2.67). In verse 6.27, it is stated that when the *manas* is in deep calmness the practitioner or yogi experiences happiness or bliss. Such calmness is experienced when the energy to pursue outward achievement becomes quiet and all negative energy is dissipated. Such a practitioner or yogi experiences *brahman* in self and others, and this is the source of the blissful experience. Thus, the role of *manas* as the controller of sense organs, the subordination of *manas* to *buddhi* in the inward journey or the role of *buddhi* in disciplining *manas*, and the state of deep calmness that *manas* needs to be in for the person to realize the unity of self and *brahman* all point to the importance of *manas* in the Indian concept of self.

In the seventh Canto, *manas* is only referred to once, but it is noted in an important context. In verses 7.4 and 7.5,[33] *kRSNa* defines the universe parsimoniously as constituting of *parA* and *aparA prakRti*. The *aparA prakRti* consists of eight elements of which five are the basic elements of earth, water, fire, air, and sky (ether or space) and the other three are *manas*, *buddhi*, and *ahaGkAra*, which together constitute the *antaHkaraNa* or the internal organ. The five basic elements also metaphorically capture the five human senses of form (eyes), sound (ears), smell (nose), taste (tongue), and touch (skin). The *aparaA prakRti* is thus broadly divided into external environment and internal agent. The *parA prakRti* is that which holds the universe together. Thus, in these two verses the universe is defined as something that is out there and something that holds together what is out there; and what is out there has elements, five of which are external and three are internal to human being. Since *manas* is one of the three internal elements, and one of the eight constituents of the material world, it constitutes an important part of Indian concept of self.

In the eighth Canto, *manas* or *manasA* is used in verses 8.10[34] and 8.12 to explain the unique role of *manas* in the process of the final merging of the self with *brahman* in conjunction with verse 8.13.[35] The person wanting to achieve the ultimate state

---

[32] Verse 6.34: *caJcalaM hi manaH kRSNa pramAthi balavaddRDham; tasyAhaM nigrahaM manye vAyoriva suduSkaram*.

[33] Verse 7.4: *bhUmirApo'nalo vAyuH khaM mano buddhireva ca; ahaGkAra itIyam me bhinnA prakRtiraSTadhA*.

Verse 7.5: *apareyamitastvanyAM prakRtiM viddhi me parAm; jIvabhUtAM mahAbAho yayedaM dhAryate jagat*.

[34] Verse 8.10: *prayANakAle manasAcalena bhaktyA yukto yogabalena caiva; bhruvormadhye prANamAvezya samyak sa taM paraM puruSamupaiti divyam.*

[35] Verse 8.12: *sarvadvArANi saMyamya mano hRdi nirudhya ca; mUrdhnyAdhAyAtmanaH prANam Asthito yogadhAraNAm*. Verse 8.13: *omityekAkSaraM brahman vyAharanmAmanusmaran; yah prayAti tyajandehaM sa yAti paramAM gatim*. By controlling the portals of the senses, stabilizing the *manas* in the heart, the person places his or her *prANa* in the head and by meditating upon the sound *om*, leaving this body he or she merges with *brahman*.

of merger with *brahman* must start by controlling the portals of the senses and then stabilize the *manas* in the heart. With such a quiet *manas* that has gone beyond resolution and indecision, the person places his or her *prANa* in the head and meditates upon the sound *om*, thus leaving this body and merging with *brahman*. In verse 8.10, the same idea is captured by stating that at the end of this physical life, with the power of yoga, a yogi places his or her *prANa* between his eyebrows, and with quiet *manas* achieves *brahman*. Thus, *manas* as a part of our self has an important role in the process of the finale of merging with *brahman*.

In the tenth Canto, *kRSNa* explains to *arjuna* how *brahman* created the universe and permeates everything, living or otherwise, and lists the entities that have his divine presence. In this context, *manas* is referred to twice in verses 10.6 and 10.22.[36] First, in verse 10.6, *kRSNa* tells *arjuna* that he created the first seven RSis and the four *manus* from his *manas*.[37] If human *manas* were to be similar to the *manas* of the Creator, it clearly has the power to create anything. This is substantiated when in verse 10.22 *kRSNa* affirms that among human organs he is the *manas*. Thus, *manas* is *kRSNa* or *brahman*, and therefore, *manas* has to merge with *Atman*, before it can merge with *brahman*.

In the 11th Canto, after viewing the *vizvarUpa* or universal form of *brahman*, *arjuna* requests *kRSNa* to return to his normal form because though he is happy to see this wonderful universal form, this form also created fear in his *manas* (verse 11.45).[38] Thus, we see that *manas* is the center for emotions like fear. Edgerton (1944) translates this as, "I am thrilled, and (at the same time) my heart is shaken with fear" (p. 60). So we see that *manas* can be translated as both mind and heart in English depending on the context.

In verses 12.2,[39] *kRSNa* tells *arjuna* that the devotee who is able to place his *manas* in *brahman*, and then constantly thinking about God does his devotional service with the highest reverence is the best among his devotees. The key to being a great devotee, thus, is to be able to place one's *manas* in *brahman*. In verse 12.8,[40] this idea is further stressed by saying that those devotees who are able to place their *manas* and *buddhi* in *kRSNa* without any doubt reside in *kRSNa* or *brahman*. In the next verse (12.9),[41]

---

[36]Verse 10.6: *maharSayaH sapta pUrve catvAro manavastathA; madbhAvA mAnasA yeSAM loka imAH prajAH.*

Verse 10.22: *vedAnAM sAmavedo'smin devAnAmasmi vAsavaH; indRyANAM manazcAsmi bhUtAnAmasmi cetanA.*

[37]*Adi zankara* in his commentary on the *bhagavadgItA* explains *mAnasA* as "*manasA eva utpaditA maya*" (p. 247) meaning that "I created them from my manas."

[38]Verse 11.45: *adRSTapUrvaM hRSito'smi dRSTvA bhayena ca pravyathitaM mano me; tadeva me darzaya devarUpaMprasIda deveza jagannivAsa.*

[39]Verse 12.2: *mayyAvezya mano ye mAM nityayuktA upAsate; zraddhayA parayopetAste me yuktatamA matAH.*

[40]Verse 12.8: *mayyeva mana Adhatsva mayi buddhi nivezaya; nivasiSyasi mayyeva ata urdhvaM na saMzayaH.*

[41]Verse 12.9: *atha cittaM samAdhAtuM na zaknoSi mayi sthiram; abhyAsayogena tato mAmicchAptuM dhanaJjaya.*

kRSNa explains that if one is not able to place his or her *citta* or *manas* in *brahman*, one should desire to achieve union with *brahman* by the practice of bringing one's *manas* to *brahman*. Thus, again, *manas* stands out as the part of us that has a role in our spiritual practice and self-realization or realization of *brahman*.

In verse 15.7,[42] *kRSNa* asserts that the identity of human being consists of the five senses and *manas* and that every living being is a fraction of *brahman*. In verse 15.9,[43] the relationship between *Atman*, other organs – ears, eyes, skin, tongue, and nose – and *manas* is explained. *Atman* uses these organs and *manas* to enjoy the sense objects. Thus, human beings have a divine presence within them, and we have to manage our *manas* to be able to recognize our spiritual nature.

In the 17th Canto, the nature of *manas* is further explained in verses 17.11 and 17.16 in the context of defining *sAtvic yajna* and *tapas*. In verse 17.11,[44] *sAtvic yajna* is defined as one in which one controls his *manas*, and performs the *yajna* for the sake of performing it, following the prescribed procedures and without desiring the fruits of the endeavor. In verses 17.14–17.16,[45] three types of *tapas* or penance are defined, the one of body, words, and *manas*. The *tapas* of *manas* is defined as one in which one keeps the *manas* happy, kind, silent, self-controlled, and pure. What is important to note that actions, speech, and *manas* provide the criteria for creating typology or defining concepts like *tapas*, *yajna*, *dhriti* or determination (18.33),[46] and so forth, and the one done with the *manas* is considered to be of the highest level. For example, nonviolence is to be practiced at three levels, in actions, in speech, and in the *manas*, in ascending order. Therefore, it is not enough to practice nonviolence, truthfulness, or any other virtue in actions and speech but also at the highest level in the *manas*. As noted earlier, *manas* cannot be translated as mind without losing significant aspects of its meaning. For example, saying that nonviolence is practiced in the mind does not do justice, because when it is done with the *manas*, it includes emotion, cognitions, and behavioral intentions, which is not the case with mind.

---

[42] Verse 15.7: *mamaivAMzo jIvaloke jIvabhUtaH sanAtanaH; manaHSaSThAnIndRyANi prakRtisthAni karSati*.

[43] Verse 15.9: *zrotraM cakSuH sparzanaM ca rasanaM grANameva ca; adhiSThAya manazcAyaM viSayAnupasevate*.

[44] Verse 17.11: *aphalAkAGkSibhiryajno vidhidRSTo ya ijyate; yaSTavyameveti manaH samAdhAya sa sAtvikH*.

[45] Verse 17.14: *devadvijaguruprAjnapUjanaM zaucamArjavam; brahmacaryamahiMsA ca zArIraM tapa ucyate*.

Verse 17.15: *anudvegkaraM vAkyaM satyaM priyahitaM ca yat; svAdhyAyAbhysanaM caiva vAGmayaM tapa ucyate*.

Verse 17.16: *manaHprasAdaH saumyatvaM maunamAtmavinigrahaH; bhAvasaMzuddhirityetattapo mAnasamucyate*.

[46] Verse 18.33: *dhRtyA yayA dhArayate manaHprANendRyakRyAH; yogenAvyabhicAriNyA dhRtiH sA pArtha sAttvikI*.

Similarly, in the third Canto, *manasA* is used as a criterion in verses 3.6 and 3.7.[47] If a person controls his sense organs but indulges with the *manas* in the sense pleasures, he is said to be hypocrite (3.6). But one who controls the organs with his *manas* and then employs them to perform the tasks without attachment is said to be a superior human being (3.7). This idea is also expressed in the fifth Canto in verses 5.11[48] and 5.13. A yogi engages in all activities for the purification of the self by giving up attachment in body, organs, *manas*, and *buddhi* (5.11). A yogi lives happily by giving up all work with his *manas* and thus remains unaffected when doing or asking others to do activities (5.13).[49] Thus, we see that controlling behaviors is not important, what is important is that our *manas* is not involved in these behaviors. Clearly, *manas* provides the testing ground for ethical behaviors.

Concept of Self and *buddhi*

In verse 2.39,[50] *buddhi* is used in the term *buddhiyoga* to denote *karmayoga*. *buddhiyoga* appears in the *bhagavadgItA* only two times more. First, in verse 10.10,[51] where *kRSNa* says that he gives *buddhiyoga* to those devotees who are constantly connected with him and chant his name with love. Second in verse 18.57,[52] where *kRSNa* tells *arjuna* that by following *buddhiyoga arjuna* could take shelter in *kRSNa* and he could surrender all his actions to *kRSNa*. It is clear that an inward looking *buddhi* comes by the grace of *kRSNa* or *brahman, and it is buddhi* that allows surrender to *brahman*, which ultimately leads to self-realization.

In verse 2.41,[53] it is stated quite categorically that there is only one kind of resolute *buddhi*, whereas irresolute *buddhi* is divided into innumerable branches. In verse 2.44,[54] the nature of firm or resolute *buddhi* is described. A person who is engaged in enjoyments loses his or her consciousness and does not have resolute *buddhi*, without

---

[47] Verse 3.6: *karmeNdRyANi saMyamya ya Aste manasA smaran; indRyArthAnvimUDhAtmA mithyAcAraH sa ucyate.*

Verse 3.7: *yastvindRyANi manasA niyamyArabhate'rjuna; karmendRyaiH karmayogamasaktaH sa viziSyate.*

[48] Verse 5.11: *kAyena manasA buddhayA kevalairindRyairapi; yoginaH karma kurvanti saGgaM tyaktvAtmazuddhaye.*

[49] Verse 5.13: *cAturvarNyaM mayA sRSTaM guNakarmavibhAgazaH; tasya kartAramapi maM viddhayakartAramavyayam.*

[50] Verse 2.39: *eSA te'bhihitA sAGkhye buddhiryoge tvimaM zRNu; buddhayA yukto yayA pArtha karmabandhaM prahAsyasi.*

[51] Verse 10.10: *teSAM satatayuktAnAM bhajatAM pRRtipUrvakam; dadAmi buddhiyogaM taM yena mAmupayAnti te.*

[52] Verse 18.57: *cetasA sarvakarmANi mayi sannyasya matparaH; buddhiyogamupAzRtya maccittaH satataM bhava.*

[53] Verse 2.41: *vyavasAyAtmikA buddhirekeha kurunandana; bahuzAkhA hyanantAzca buddhayo'vyavasAyinAm.*

[54] Verse 2.44: *bhogaizvaryaprasaktAnAM tayApahRtacetasAm; vyavasAyAtmikA buddhiH samAdhau na vidhIyate.*

which he or she cannot achieve *samAdhi*, or the highest state of meditation. Thus, it is suggested that for meditation to be deep, one's *buddhi* has to be resolute or inwardly focused. In verses 2.49–2.53,[55] a person with such a *buddhi* is said to be able to give up the fruits of his or her actions and achieve liberation from birth and death cycle. In verses 2.65 and 2.66,[56] a happy person is said to have a resolute *buddhi*, and without such a *buddhi* one is said to be without peace and happiness.

As noted earlier, in verses 3.40–3.43,[57] the relationship between physical body, sense organs, *manas*, *buddhi*, and *Atman* is established in ascending order. Thus, *buddhi* is the closest to *Atman*, but if it is outward focused, it guides *manas* to explore the world through the senses and the body enjoying such activities and their outcomes. However, when *buddhi* becomes inward focused, *manas* becomes inward focused, and the senses and body scan the environment but do not desire to acquire anything from the environment. *manas* remains what is referred to as *yadRcchAlAbhasantusTaH* (verse 4.22)[58] or satisfied with whatever is offered by the environment without asking. In verse 5.11, it is stated that a yogi works with body, sense organs, *manas*, and *buddhi* by giving up attachment to clean the self. Here, the only time in the entire *bhagavadgItA*, *buddhi* is also given a role or involved in doing *karma*. Thus, the purification of the self requires the involvement of *buddhi*, though it is subtle and seems not to have any agency.

In verse 6.25, it is stated that the practitioner of spirituality must use *buddhi* patiently to slowly, step by step, eliminate attachment, and by keeping the *manas* focused internally, slowly withdraw from the outside world. Thus, as the inward

---

[55] Verse 2.49: *dUreNa hyavaraM karma buddhiyogAddhanaJjaya; buddhau zaraNamanviccha kRpaNAH phalahetavaH.*

Verse 2.50: *buddhiyukto jahAtIha ubhe sukRtaduSkRte; tasmAdyogAya yujyasva yogaH karmasu kauzalam.*

Verse 2.51: *karmajaM buddhiyuktA hi phalaM tyaktvA manISiNaH; janmabandhavinirmuktAH padaM gacchantyanAmayam.*

Verse 2.52: *yadA te mohakalilaM buddhirvyatitariSyati; tadA gantAsi nirvedaM zrotavyasya zrutasya ca.*

Verse 2.53: *zrutivipratipannA te yadA sthAsyati nizcalA; samAdhAvacalA buddhistadA yogamavApsyasi.*

[56] Verse 2.65: *prasAde sarvaduHkhAnAM hAnirasyopajAyate; prasannacetaso hyAzu buddhiH paryavatiSThate.*

Verse 2.66: *nAsti buddhirayuktasya na cAyuktasya bhAvanA; na cAbhAvayataH zAntirazAntasya kutaH sukham.*

[57] Verse 3.40: *indRyANi mano buddhirasyAdhiSThAnamucyate; etairvimohayatyeSa jnAnamAvRtya dehinam.*

Verse 3.41: *tasmAttvamindRyANyAdau niyamya bharatarSabha; pApmAnaM prajahi hyenaM jnAnavijnAnanAzanam.*

Verse 3.42: *indRyANi parANyAhurindRyebhyaH paraM manaH; manasastu parA buddhiryo buddheH paratastu saH.*

Verse 3.43: *evaM buddheH paraM buddhvA saMstabhyAtmAnamAtmanA; jahi zatruM mahAbAho kAmarupaM durAsadam.*

[58] Verse 4.22: *yadRcchAlAbhasantuSTo dvandvAtIto vimatsaraH; samaH siddhAvasiddhau ca kRtvApi na nibadhyate.*

journey gets deeper, *buddhi* should be used so that *manas* and *buddhi* become more focused on *Atman* and merge with *Atman*, which leads *Atman* to merge with *brahman*. This is captured in Figure 4.4, where *Atman* is shown at the center of the self, which is surrounded by *buddhi*, *manas*, *ahaGkAra*, sense organs, physical body, and the external environment (verses 7.4 and 13.5).[59] In verse 18.17,[60] it is stated that the person who does not think that he or she is the actor, and whose *buddhi* does not get attached to the actions taken, such a person does not get tied with the actions he or she performs.

In verses 18.29–32,[61] the nature of *sAtvic*, *rAjasic*, and *tAmasic buddhi* is described. *sAtvic buddhi* is one which allows one to determine the external and

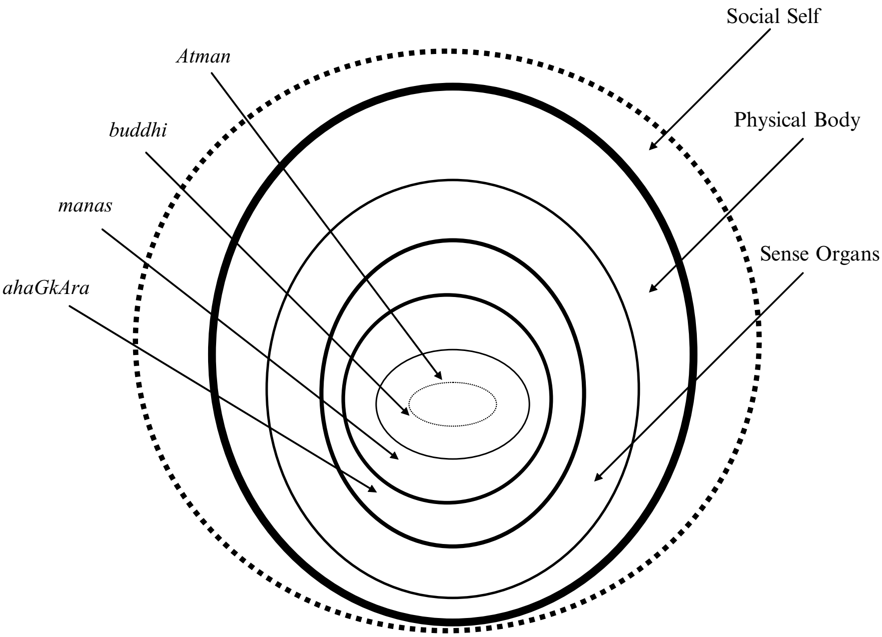


Figure 4.4 Hierarchy of Indian self: From gross to subtle

[59] Verse 13.5: *mahAbhUtAnyahaGkAro buddhiravyaktameva ca; indRyANi dazaikaM ca paNca cendRyagocarAH.*

[60] Verse 18.17: *yasya nAhaGkRto bhAvo buddhiryasya na lipyate; hatvApi sa imAMllokAnna hanti na nibadhyate.*

[61] Verse 18.29: *buddherbhedaM dhRtezcaiva guNatastRvidhaM zRNu; procyamAnamazeSeNa pRthaktvena dhanaJjaya.*

Verse 18.30: *pravRttiM ca nivRttiM ca kAryAkArye bhayAbhaye; bandhaM mokSaM ca yA vetti buddhiH sA pArtha sAttvikI.*

Verse 18.31: *yayA dharmamadharmaM ca kAryaM cAkAryameva ca; ayathAvatprajAnAti buddhiH sA pArtha rAjasI.*

Verse 18.32: *adharmaM dharmamiti yA manyate tamasAvRtA; sarvArthAnviparItAMzca buddhiH sA pArtha tAmasI.*

internal paths that *manas* follows, the nature of what should be done (or duties) and must not be done, the causes of fear and hope, and finally the activities that give freedom or tie one down to birth and death cycle. *rAjasic buddhi* is one which is not able to determine what is one's duties and whether or not certain activities should be performed. And finally, *tAmasic buddhi* is one which makes incorrect decision about what to do and what not to do.

Concept of Self and *ahaGkAra*

In the *bhagavadgItA*, *ahaGkAra* as a construct does not receive the same coverage as *manas* or *buddhi*, and it only appears two times in conjunction with buddhi in verses 7.4 and 13.5, showing that it is a construct that is less subtle than *manas* and *buddhi* as shown in Figure 4.4. However, ahaGkAr is an important concept that does get mentioned in other texts like *vivekacudAmaNi* and *yogavAsiSTha*. Suffice it to say that it refers to the feeling of agency, and though it is a useful construct on the outward journey of human life, it is less useful on the inward journey where one has to constantly erase the thought and feeling associated with agency. The focus on ego or concept of self in the West is because of its value in understanding how we perform activities. If the goal of life is not to have goals, then agency becomes less relevant, which is the perspective taken by people who are pursuing a spiritual path. However, for those who are not on such a path, the concept of *ahaGkAr* or other social constructions of self should be quite useful. Regional concept of self or identity is another construct that is useful to understand why people act on the social plane, which is discussed next.

Regional Concept of Self

Most people in India carry a regional identity, which is either second to their being an Indian (e.g., I am an Indian), but often this regional identity is more salient than being an Indian. It makes perfect sense for people to have regional identities since the Indian states are organized according to linguistic groups, and every state has at least one major language and many other languages. India is home to 300–400 languages and 1,652 mother tongues. It is no surprise that it has 23 official languages, 87 languages of print media, and 104 languages in which there are radio broadcasts. There were 81 languages used in primary education in 1970, which has declined to 41 in 1998. And in more than half of the districts minority linguistic group constitutes more than 20% of the population (Mohanty, 2007). A person, therefore, is a Bengali, Tamil, Marathi, Gujarati, Oriya, Asami, Malayalee, Bihari, Punjabi, Sindhi, and so forth. In Uttar Pradesh, people are referred to as *Banarasi Babu*, *Avadh ke Nawab*, and so forth in daily conversation, which also alludes to regional identity.

These regions are so large that they also have their own special food, clothing, music, art, and literature. Thus, each is a culture unto itself, and only a few hundred years ago many of them also had a national identity. Thus, it makes sense for people to have a cultural identity embedded in the region. There are also similarities across these regions that make it possible for people to forge a national identity. Though some researchers argue that Indian identity was formed because of the British rule, people had an identity of being an Arya (as seen in Buddha's repeated use of the word Arya in his message to his disciples more than 2,500 years ago) or a resident of *bhAratvarSa* hundreds of years before the interaction with the Muslim world began.

The regional identity has a long history, and not all of it pleasant. For example, Orissa used to be Kalinga, and the massacre by Ashoka is a historical event that provides the people of Orissa an identity. In Tamil Nadu, similarly there was a movement in the 1960s about the revival of the Dravidian culture, and though the movement is not as aggressive today, people still identify themselves as Dravidian. One of my students of Indian origin in Hawaii listed his ethnicity as Dravidian in a cultural exercise. History provides context for culture, and thus, regional identity is important for people in India.

It is also important in daily interactions as people refer to each other by their regional identity (e.g., he is a Bengali, he is a Tamil, and so forth). Marriage across these regional boundaries are much like intercultural marriage, and many times people use English as the language of communication in such marriages since they usually are found in the cities among the urban population. When asking if there were other Indians at the University of Illinois, I remember an Indian replying with excitement, "There are a lot of Bengalis, and some Indians too." It may sound being unpatriotic, especially when living abroad, but the regional identity provides the cultural warmth to Indians. The government has worked hard to create a national identity since 1947 when India overthrew the British colonial rule, but despite some success, the regional identity remains an important part of one's identity. However, it has not received much attention by psychologists except those who are interested in linguistics.

In an attempt to differentiate the Indian concept of social self from that of the people in the West, some cross-cultural psychologists have shown that Indians have both independent and interdependent selves and are both individualistic and collectivist in their cognition (Sinha & Tripathi, 1994). Their findings question the Western theories that people have either an independent concept of self or an interdependent concept of self and that cultures are either individualistic or collectivist (Markus & Kitayama, 1991; Triandis, 1989, 1995). Since we are delving into social psychology with such theories, it would be interesting to explore if there are regional differences across individualism and collectivism or the individual level variable of independent and interdependent concept of self. However, Indian scholars usually shy away from doing such regional level research and analysis, perhaps because it is not socially desirable. In the absence of such research findings, we can only speculate about such regional differences, but there are other significant similarities in the conceptualization of self among people of various regions, which was addressed above.

Implications for Global Psychology

The Indian concept of self presented above invites scholars from other countries to examine the concept of self in their own cultural context using local languages. This has been done to some degree in the Chinese context by Yang (2006), who reported many of his work published in Chinese. Yang presented a new perspective on how to approach the study of self, and recommended that self should not be viewed as an object, which leads to such constructs like self-efficacy, self-esteem, and so forth. Self is socially constructed to find meaning in life and to make sense of one's own actions. Part of this objectification of self is the agency of the self, and it was shown that though agency has meaning in understanding what actions people take and why, it is not the only aspect of self. Thus, indigenous perspectives provide insight into global psychology about how to study the concept of self without falling into the deterministic Western models that do not capture the cultural reality of other cultures.

It is clear from the above that we are likely to develop insightful cultural models if we start from classical texts, especially those that are still in daily use. Yang (2006) suggested the need to study the process of person-making, and the stage of life clearly shows the Indian worldview and how people become who they are at different points in time. Students are expected to act in a certain way, which is different from those who are in the householder phase. Thus, considering psychological processes to be universal for all adults is problematic in the Indian context.

A comparison of the Chinese concept of self presented by Yang (2006) and the Indian concept of self presented above shows that despite being collectivist and having interdependent concept of self, the concept of self is much different in the two cultures. In both countries, people are valued for who they can become rather than who they are, but the thrust in China is still on the social plane, what has been referred to above as social self, whereas in India the emphasis is on the inward journey and the potential of discovery of an infinite self. Such discoveries are not possible by following the empirical approach, which is always in a hurry to measure constructs even before they crystallize fully. Clearly, much qualitative research is needed in indigenous psychology before conceptual equivalence can be established to proceed with comparative research at the level of measurement. For example, it is not clear what we know about the value framework or social axioms of Indians to be able to compare them with those of Israelis using Schwartz's framework (1992) or Leung and Bond's social axiom survey (2004).

Chapter 5
The Paths of Bondage and Liberation

As was noted in Chapter 3, what we study and how we study the problem is influenced to a substantial degree by our cultural values. It was shown in Chapter 2 that cultural values and beliefs direct the geniuses in a culture to the behavioral domain that is valued and that the Indian culture values spirituality. It is no surprise that the classical Indian texts are replete with concepts that can help us model the process of spiritual growth.

In this chapter, a model is derived from the *bhagavadgItA* following the methodology presented in Chapter 3, which shows how the physical self is related to social self and works in the context of the Indian worldview. The model shows how working with the intention to achieve the fruits of our labor leads to an entrenched development of social self, but letting go of the passion for the reward for our actions leads us toward the real self. These two distinct paths are discussed in detail, and then it is discussed how Western psychology deals with the first path by focusing on various aspects of intentional work only. The neglect of the second path in Western psychology leads us to miss out on the immense possibility of leading a spiritual life. Considering that spirituality is a defining aspect of human existence and experience, this is not a small loss, and the chapter shows how indigenous psychology can contribute to the mainstream psychology as well as global psychology.

Toward Real Self Through Work: A Process Model

In the Indian worldview, concept of self and work are closely linked, and this is captured in the *bhagavadgItA* in the 2nd, 3rd, and the 18th Cantos in verses 2.31, 2.33, 3.8, and 18.41-46. Figure 5.1 schematically presents this strong tie between self and work by presenting the construct of *svadharma*, which translates as one's duty (*sva* meaning self and *dharma* meaning duty). It should be noted that in the Indian worldview *dharma* is a key concept, and it is defined both cognitively and behaviorally as the values that guide one's behaviors in daily life (*dhArayate yena*

D.P.S. Bhawuk, *Spirituality and Indian Psychology*, International and Cultural Psychology, DOI 10.1007/978-1-4419-8110-3_5, © Springer Science+Business Media, LLC 2011

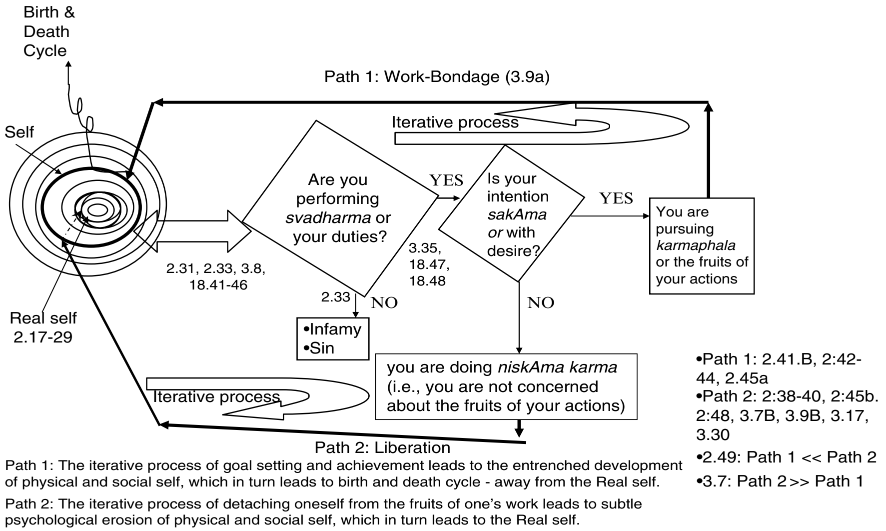


Figure 5.1 The paths of bondage and liberation

saH dharma[1]). It is quite interesting that such a key concept is used to denote work; thus, one could argue that the very idea that work could be mundane is not entertained in the Indian worldview. The concept of *svadharma* is first introduced in verse 2.31, when *kRSNa* tries to motivate *arjuna* to fight by stating that even in view of his duties (*svadharma*) he should not hesitate to engage in the battle.[2]

Continuing to persuade *arjuna*, in verse 2.33,[3] *kRSNa* encouraged him to perform his worldly duties by stating the negative consequences of not doing one's duties, thus implying that indeed one has a choice to do or not to do his or her duty, or work prescribed by one's caste and phase of life (*varNAzrama dharma*[4]). At the

---

[1] *dhAranAd dharma iti Ahur dharmeNa vidhratAH prajAH, yat syAd dhAraNa saMyuktaM sa dharma iti nizcayaH* (*mahAbhArata* 12.110.11). *dharma* is said to be that which holds and supports a person. Further, it is used to hold the descendents in one's lineage together or future generations of one's family together. In addition, that which is endowed with the holding capacity is definitely *dharma*. By stating that *dharma* holds the future generations together, it is clear that *dharma* encompasses one beyond one's life, and includes one's children, family members, and other people.

[2] Verse 2.31: *svadharmamapi cAvekSya na vikampitumarhasi; dharmyAddhi yuddhAcchreyo' nyatkSatriyasya na vidyate*. While examining your duties as a *kSatriya*, you should not hesitate to fight, since for a *kSatriya* there is nothing more auspicious than to take part in a just battle.

[3] Verse 2.33: *athacetvamimaM dharmyaM saGgrAmaM na kariSyasi; tataH svadharmaM kIrtiM ca hitvA pApamavApsyasi*. If you do not fight in this just battle, you will miss out on your duties, acquire infamy, and earn demerit or sin.

[4] *varnAzram dharma* was discussed in Chapter 4. Briefly, according to the *varnAzram dharma* human life is divided into four *Azramas* or phases: the student phase (or *brahmacarya Azrama*), the householder phase (or *grihastha Azrama*), the forest dweller phase (or *vAnaprastha Azrama*), and the monkhood phase (or *sannyAsa Azrama*). The four castes of *brAmhaNa*, *kSartriya*,

same time neglecting one's duties is equated to earning demerit or sin, thus presenting a strong deterrent against the shirking of one's duties.

The positive aspects of performing one's duties are stated in verses 3.35a, 18.47a,[5] and 18.48. If we decide to do our duties, then we face another decision point, whether we should perform our duties with the intention to achieve the fruits of our work or to work without concern for the fruits of our work. If we decide to pursue the work with the intention to enjoy the fruits of our effort, we follow Path 1, which leads to increased attachment to work and its consequences, or *karmic* bondage. This is stated in verse 3.9a. The nature of Path 1 is described in verses 2.41b, 2.42-44, and 2.45a. If we intend to work without being concerned with the fruits of our effort, or become detached from them, i.e., maintain equanimity in achieving or not achieving them, then we are following Path 2, which leads to liberation. Path 2 is described in verses 2.38-40, 2.45b, 2.48, 3.7b, 3.9b, 3.17, and 3.30. Though not stated as such, it makes intuitive sense, and therefore, Paths 1 and 2 are proposed as iterative processes. In verse 2.49, Path 1 is stated to be inferior to Path 2, and in verse 3.7, Path 2 is stated to be superior to Path 1.

When we follow Path 1, we set goals and achieve them. This leads to further development of our social self, and we get more and more entrenched in our physical and social self. On the other hand, when we follow Path 2, we detach ourselves from the fruits of our action and slowly but definitely erode the social self and the associated "I consciousness" and agency (*karta bhAva* or the sense of being an agent, which has cognitive, affective, and behavioral aspects). In the long run, this process leads to the realization of the real self, or *Atman*, which is described in verses 2.17-29. It could be argued that, Ved Vyasa, the author of the *bhagavadgItA,* which is a part of the *mahAbhArata* (6.23-40)*,* had this counterintuitive insight, and genius lies in counterintuitive thinking and developing ideas from such thinking, that if intention to obtain the fruit was taken out of work, one could work in the world and yet make progress on the spiritual path, because the consequences of work and the entailing passion would be preemptively dissipated.

Self and *svadharma*

It was discussed in Chapter 4 how the Indian concept of self consists of physical, social, psychological, and metaphysical elements. The physical self is used to define the real self or *Atman* by negation, i.e., the physical self is categorically stated not to

---

vaizya, and *zUdra* have their prescribed duties of learning and teaching, protecting and fighting, trade and crafts, and service of the janitorial type, but each is supposed to follow the four phases of life. Thus, the caste bound work is only applicable to the first two phases of life when one is learning the trade and performing the duties. The later two phases are for everyone to lead a spiritual life.

[5] The first line of the verses in 3.35 and 18.47 is identical, word for word, emphasizing the value of performing one's duties or *svadharma*.

be our real self. The physical self gets integrated with the social self in the social system that prescribes duties according to one's caste (or *varNa*) and phase of life (or *varNAzram dharma,* see footnote 4 above). In this system, people are postulated to be different from each other from birth, and they take the social identity provided by their caste. With the caste comes the strong tie with work, and what is defined as *svadharma* in the *bhagavadgItA* is primarily prescribed work for the four castes. This is supported in the *manusmRti*[6] (10.97), where it is stated categorically that "it is better to discharge one's own appointed duty incompletely than to perform completely that of other; for he [or she] who lives according to the law of another caste is instantly excluded from his [or her] own" (Buhler, 1969, p. 423). In accordance with this principle, *arjuna* was exhorted to fight, since that was his duty (or *dharma*) as a warrior (or *kSatriya*), especially since all efforts to settle the dispute peacefully had failed and the forces were already arrayed in the battlefield.

In verse 2.31, Arjun is asked not even to hesitate in his duties and is exhorted to fight since there is nothing better than fighting in a rightful battle for a warrior (see footnote 2 above). In verse 2.33, he is further reminded that if he did not perform his duty, it would not only be sinful but also bring him infamy. In verse 3.8, two interesting arguments are made. First, doing work is stated to be superior to not performing one's duty or work,[7] presenting the general principle that action is better than inaction.[8] Second, it is argued that we cannot even continue the journey of life or maintain the body without performing work. In this argument lies the strong bond between the physical self, the social self, and work. These ideas are further elaborated upon in verses 18.41 through 18.46.

In verses 18.41 through 18.44, the duties (or *dharma*) of the four castes are noted. In verse 18.41, the caste system is described as having its foundation in the innate aptitude of people in the four castes that are derived from the three *guNas* – *satva*, *rajas*, and *tamas* – which constitute the basic strands that make the world as well as human behaviors according to sAGkhya philosophy.[9] In verse 18.42, it is stated that

---

[6] *manusmRti* Verse 10.97: *varaM svadharmo viguNo na pArakyaH svanuSThtaH; pardharmeNa jIvanhi sadyaH patati jAtitaH.* It is better to perform one's duties even if they are problematic rather than doing the well-placed work of people of other castes. If one does not follow this, then one loses his or her caste.

[7] Verse 3.8: *niyataM kuru karma tvaM karma jyAyo hyakarmaNaH. zarIrayAtrApi ca te na prasiddhayedakarmaNaH.* Do your prescribed work as doing work is superior to not working. The journey of life cannot be completed without doing work.

[8] Don't just stand there, do something, comes to mind as a close Western wisdom heard in the daily life, and in organizations. This, a bias for action, was identified as one of the eight characteristics of excellent companies by Peters and Waterman (1982).

[9] Verse 18.41 states: *brAhmaNakSatriyavizAM zUdrANaM ca paraMtapa; karmANi pravibhaktAni svabhAva prabhavairguNaiH.* The work for *brAhmaNa*, *kSatriya*, *vaizya*, and *zUdra* are prescribed according to their innate nature derived from the three *guNas (satva, rajas, and tamas)*. In *sAGkhya* philosophy, *prakriti* is considered the original producer of the material world, and the *guNas* are its three ingredients, namely, *satva* (goodness or virtue), *rajas* (passion or foulness), and *tamas* (darkness or ignorance).

the Brahmins should do their prescribed duties[10] by adopting tranquility, control, austerity, cleansing, tolerance, simplicity, knowledge, discriminating knowledge, and belief in *brahman*, piety, or faithfulness. In verse 18.43, the qualities of *kSatriyas* are noted as valor, glow, endurance, skill, noncowardice, giving, and leadership in performing their work.[11] In verse 18.44, it is suggested that the *vaizyas* should engage themselves in agriculture, trade, and the protection of cow, whereas the *zUdras* should engage themselves in service-related work.[12]

In verse 18.45a, it is said that people achieve perfection by engaging themselves in their prescribed work.[13] This clearly encourages people to be committed to their duties (or *svadharma*). In verse 18.46,[14] work is elevated to the level of worship, much like the idea of "Calling" in Protestantism. The verse argues that *brahman* is in everything, and that *brahman* gives the drive to living beings. Further, human beings achieve perfection by worshipping *brahman*, and one worships *brahman* by performing his or her work. This verse leaves no room for doubt, and we are exhorted to perform our duties (or *svadharma*), for that itself is the highest form of worship of *brahman*.

From the above, it is clear that the concept of one's duties or work (*svadharma*) is couched in the *varNAzram dharma*, which is an Indian emic system. To better understand the concept of *svadharma*, let me offer myself as a subject for evaluation. I am a Brahmin by caste. I was trained as a mechanical engineer, and I entered the workforce right after I graduated at the age of 22, thus becoming a householder. I got married at the age of 25 following the arranged marriage tradition and formally became a householder. After working for 8 years as a training engineer and manager in the airlines industry, I pursued an MBA degree in the USA. Following this training, I became an entrepreneur and started my own training and consulting company in Nepal. I worked for myself for 3 years and then pursued a Ph.D. in organizational behavior in the USA, following which I became a professor in a business school in Hawaii. I continue to work as a professor and teach management from cross-cultural industrial-organizational perspectives.

I violated the *varNAzrama dharma* in more than one way. As a Brahmin, I should not have pursued the studies of engineering. Since I was trained as an engineer, my duty (*svadharma)* was to work as an engineer, but by acquiring MBA and later Ph.D., I changed my profession again and again. And as I changed my profession, so did my work or duties. Though I have returned to the learning and teaching

---

[10] Verse 18.42 states: *zamo damastapaH zaucam kSantirArjavameva ca, jnAnaM vijnAnamAstikyaM brahmakarma svabhAvajam.*

[11] Verse 18.43 states: *zauryaM tejo dhritirdAkSyaM yuddhe cApyapalAyanam, dAnamIzvarbhAvazca kSatrakarma svabhAvajam.*

[12] Verse 18.44 states: *kRiSigaurakSyavANijyaM vaizyakarma svabhAvajam, paricaryAtmakam karma zUdrasyApi svabhAvajam.*

[13] Verse 18.45: *sve sve karmaNyabhirataH samsiddhim labhate naraH; svakarmanirataH siddhiM yathA vindati tacchRNu.*

[14] Verse 18.46: *yataH pravRtir bhUtAnAM yena sarvamidaM tatam; svakarmaNa tamabhyarcya siddhiM vindati mAnavaH.*

profession prescribed for a Brahmin, I am not teaching about the *vedas* or philosophy, and thus not following my traditionally prescribed duties. I also started working 3 years before the prescribed beginning of the householder phase of 25. And although I got married at the prescribed age of 25, I violated the duties of a householder by returning to school for graduate studies twice, once for 2 years and the second time for 3 years.

I am sure there will be very few people in South Asia who would pass the test of strictly following the prescribed *varNAzrama dharma*, especially because of the creation of many new jobs that do not fit the classical typology, which makes the model apparently irrelevant. However, despite such a misfit, one could argue that the model might work if we redefine what our duties are. A poet from Nepal resolved the issue of the definition of our duties in an ingenious way for our time. Lakshami Prasad Devkota posed the question, "what is our duty," in one of his poems, and offered the answer, "look in the sky and ask your *manas*." In other words, there is a set of duties from which we can choose some, and clearly an individual alone can decide what his or her duty is. Also, much like the stars change their position in the sky, our duties may but naturally change with changing time. Simply put, we have to decide what our duties are, and having decided upon it, we must discharge it with equanimity[15] and to the best of our ability.[16]

Having said that, we still have to deal with the modern work and the role of managers in creating it. The morality of creating work that is dehumanizing, humiliating, and devoid of any motivating potential due to lack of skill variety, task significance, task identity, autonomy, and feedback (Hackman & Oldham, 1976) has to be questioned. The right to work and the right to shape our work and work environment could not be taken away from the workers under the guise of duties prescribed by managers. The greed of exploitative organizations and managers do not make it easy for our time to define our duties, and the dynamic global environment does constantly "move the cheese" (Johnson, 2000), requiring us to redefine what our duties are. The model will still hold in that if we follow Path 1 after choosing our duties, we will face work-bondage, whereas if we follow Path 2, we will pursue liberation. However difficult, boring, excruciating the work may be, having chosen it as our work, we must do it, for not doing our work will be inappropriate. That is the spirit of the concept of *svadharma*.

---

[15] Verse 2:48: *yogasthaH kuru karmANi saGgaM tyaktvA Dhananjaya; siddhayasiddhayoH samo bhUtvA samatvaM yoga ucyate.* O Dhananjaya, perform your duties by giving up attachment and establishing yourself in yoga; be balanced in success and failure for such balancing is *yoga*.

[16] Verse 2.50: *buddhiyukto jahAtIha ubhe sukritaduSkrite; tasmAdyogAya yujyasva yogaH karmasu kauzalam.* The wise give up the fruits of both the good and the bad *karma* in this world itself; therefore, engage yourself in *yoga*, which is being balanced in success and failure as stated in Verse 2.48, for such balancing (i.e., *yoga*) is excellence in performing one's *svadharma* or duties. In other words, if one is balanced in success and failure when performing one's duties, even the tasks, functions, or works that naturally cause bondage give up their bonding nature because of such balancing in the mind of the performer. Thus, Krizna exhorted *arjuna* to be engaged in balancing the mind while performing his duties.

Performing or Not Performing One's *svadharma*

As shown in Figure 5.1, one can respond with "Yes" or "No" to the question, "Are you performing your *svadharma* or duties." If the response is "Yes," it takes one to the next decision point, "Is your intention *sakAma* or with desire?" However, if the response is "No" then the consequence of such a behavior is shown. In verses 3.35a and 18.47a, one's duties (*svadharma)* is praised to be better than others' duties (*dharma)*, even if one's duties are lowly, and one is encouraged to never give up one's duties.[17] In 3.35b, one's duties are praised to be so good that one should consider dying for them, and others' duties are described as scary. In 18.47b, one is further encouraged to perform one's natural duties, where nature is determined at birth by the caste one is born in,[18] and it is stated that there is no sin in performing one's duties. Since work leads to bondage, one's duties are clearly put in a special category of work, which does not lead to bondage or sin. Finally, in verse 18.48, *arjuna* is advised that one should not abandon one's natural duties (or, *sahajaM karma*) even if it has flaws since all work have some flaw much like there is smoke associated with fire.[19]

The *bhagavadgItA* is categorical about the consequences of not performing one's duties (shown by the arrow marked No in Figure 5.1). In verse 2.33, *arjuna* is told that if he did not take part in the just battle (or *dharma yuddha*) or the battle supporting righteousness, which took place in *kurukSetra*,[20] he would accrue infamy and sin. In light of the above reasons, it becomes quite clear that one is to perform his or her duties at all times and that there are serious negative consequences of not performing them. Thus, having decided to perform one's duties, we move to the next step in Figure 5.1 to examine the intention of performing one's duties.

[17] Verses 3.35 and 18.47: *zreyAn svadharmo viguNah pardharmAtsvanuSThitAt; sva dharme nidhanaM zreyaH pardharmo bhayAvahaH.* (3.35) *zreyAn svadharmo viguNah pardharmAtsvanuSThitAt; svabhAvaniyataM karma kurvannApnoti kilbiSam* (18.47).

[18] I personally think that the caste system became a category at birth somewhere in the social evolution process, and it is quite likely that the caste system was more aptitude based in the beginning. This sounds logical to me, but it does not have historical evidence supporting it. First, the Indian system of thought does not believe in evolution theory, the way we view in the West, and the way many of us in the East have also come to accept it. It makes perfect sense to me that our languages evolved over thousands of years, and it is difficult for me to subscribe to the idea that *brahman* created human languages. Therefore, to argue that the caste system evolved over thousands of years necessarily requires adopting the Western worldview in analyzing the Indian system. Second, the caste system is depicted as already existing from time immemorial, as can be seen in the stories of *dhruva*, *kapila*, and others as narrated in the *bhAgavatam* and other *purANas*, which again goes against the evolutionary perspective.

[19] Verse 18:48 states: *sahajam karma kaunteya sadoSamapi na tyajyet, sarvArambhA hi doSeNa dhUmenAgnirivavRtaH.*

[20] The battle of *mahAbhArat* was fought in *kurukSetra*, which lies in the state of Hariyana in modern India.

Intention: *sakAma* (or with Desire) or *niSkAma* (or Without Desire)?

Once we decide to perform our duties (*svadharma*), we arrive at another decision point, where we have to decide whether we want to do our duties (*svadharma*) with the intention of achieving the fruits of our action (*sakAma*), or we want to pursue it with the intention of being indifferent about achieving or not achieving the fruits of our actions (i.e., being *niSkAma*). If we chase the fruits of our actions with passion, we follow Path 1 (see Figure 5.1), which is the worldly or the materialistic path. However, if we choose not to chase the fruits of our endeavors, then we pursue Path 2. Since this decision falls in the material domain, to begin with, it is guided by social psychological theories. Intention being the best predictor of human behavior, this is a significant phase in decision-making and it affects how our self develops further. Whether or not to pursue a material life seems to be a conscious decision on our part.

Some argue that it is *brahman*'s grace that propels people toward the spiritual path and that *vairAgya* or detachment, one of the foundations of leading a spiritual life, is not achieved by the self through determination, but given by the grace of *brahman*. However, it is plausible that when we are born in a particular family, we exhaust our past *karma* and start making decisions by interacting with the environment and people around us. We get exposed to spirituality at some point in our life, and it is our choice to pursue a spiritual or a material path. Having said so, I have often felt a push toward the spiritual path, which could simply be a socially constructed idea, rather than a "true" divine push external to me!

It may be relevant to examine here what Raman Maharshi had to say about free will and predestination. "The Ordinater controls the fate of souls in accordance with their *prArabdhakarma* (destiny to be worked out in this life, resulting from the balance sheet of actions in past lives). Whatever is destined not to happen will not happen, try as you may. Whatever is destined to happen will happen, do what you may to prevent it. This is certain. The best course, therefore, is to be silent (Osborne, 1954, p. 42)." Osborne noted that Raman Maharshi "refused to be entangled in a discussion on free will and predestination, for such theories, although contradictory on the mental plane, may both reflect aspect of truth (page 42)." Raman Maharshi would say, "Find out who it is who is predestined or has free will. All the actions that the body is to perform are already decided upon at the time it comes into existence: the only freedom you have is whether or not to identify yourself with the body (Osborne, 1954, p. 42)." One who realizes his identity with the deathless Self acts his part on the human stage without fear or anxiety, hope or regret, not being touched by the part played.

Yet, Raman Maharshi constantly stressed the importance of making effort. He said to a devotee, "As beings reap the fruit of their actions in accordance with God's laws, the responsibility is their, not His." He also instructed that if we "strengthen the mind that [spiritual] peace will become constant. Its duration is proportionate to the strength of mind acquired by repeated practice." In response to the contradiction

between effort and destiny, he said, "That which is called "destiny," preventing meditation, exists only to the externalized and not to the introverted mind. Therefore, he who seeks inwardly in quest of the Self, remaining as he is, does not get frightened by any impediment that may seem to stand in the way of carrying on his practice of meditation." The very thought of such obstacles is the greatest impediment (Osborne, 1954, pp. 43–44)." This is what is shown in Path 2 in Figure 5.1. Raman Maharshi referred to the *bhagavadgItA*: "As *zR kRSNa* told *arjuna*, his own nature will compel him to make effort." Thus, he demanded that his students do make effort in their social context and not leave it for the shelter of the *azrama*, and not presume that they knew what was predestined and therefore not make effort. Making effort may be the role one has to play in the social context.

Path 1: Work as Bondage

In verse 3.9a, it is stated that any work other than sacrificial rite (*yajna) or* work done for the mercy of *brahman* leads people to bondage.[21] *arjuna* is categorically instructed in 3.9b to do his duties with a balanced conduct and without attachment to the fruits of his actions. In verse 2.41b, those people who perform their duties while thinking about the fruits of their work are said to have an irresolute mind (Prabhupad, 1986), and they are said to have many passions. In verses 2.42[22] and 2.43,[23] those people who pursue the fruits of their actions are said to claim that nothing except the material world exists and are called unwise. Heaven is said to be the ultimate goal for those who have desires, and they are depicted as people who do many activities for pleasure and wealth.

In verse 2.44, people engrossed with pleasure and pursuit of wealth are said to be preoccupied with these aspects of the material world and are characterized as people who are not able to understand the *Atman.* And finally, in verse 2.45a, *kRSNa* tells *arjuna* in no uncertain terms that all that the *vedas* (even the *vedas*!) deal with are the three ingredients of the original producer of the material world (*guNas,* see footnote 10*)* and their consequences. He, therefore, exhorts *arjuna* to strive to rise above these three ingredients of nature and their other aspects. In other words, even the *vedas* and its associated ceremonial acts and sacrificial

[21] Verse 3.9: *yajnArthAt karmaNo'nyatra loko'yam karmabandhanaH; tadarthaM karma kaunteya muktasaGgaH samAcara*

[22] Verse 2.42: *yAmimaM puSpitAM vAcaM pravadantyavipazcitaH, vedavAdarataH partha nAnyadastIti vAdinaH*. Oh, *arjuna*, those people who are not wise take delight in *vedic* discussions (in contrast to those who practice the *vedic* precepts) and speak in flowery words. Such people claim that there is nothing beyond these discussions, or that pleasure is the ultimate goal of life.

[23] Verse 2.43: *kAmAtmAnaH svargaparA janmakarmaphalapradAm, kriyAviSezabahulAM bhogaizvaryagatiM prati*. Those who pursue desires passionately (*kamatmanah*) think that there is nothing beyond the heaven (*svargaparA*), and that birth is a consequence of past *karma*. Such people pursue various activities and strive for pleasurable consumption and opulence.

rites (or *karmakAnDa*) lead one to bondage. Thus, clearly Path 1 is depicted as one that leads to work or *kArmic* bondage, life after life, and necessarily to birth and death cycle (see Figure 5.1).

As mentioned earlier Path 1 is iterative. Every task or element of our work when completed following this path adds something to our social self. We develop confidence or self-efficacy in performing certain tasks, we learn certain skills, we develop self-esteem for what we can do and have done, we develop a personality or a way to perform tasks efficiently, and we develop a social network of people to be effective in the society. All these add to our social self that can be measured using the 20-item "I Am Scale (Kuhn & McPartland, 1954)." The findings of the "I Am Scale" clearly show the multiplicity of our social self (Bhawuk & Munusamy, under preparation), which was discussed in Chapter 4.

Path 2: Liberation Through Work

The second path originates when a person makes a conscious decision not to passionately pursue the fruits of his or her endeavors. In verse 2.38, *kRSNa* tells *arjuna* that if he fought by maintaining equanimity in happiness or sorrow, victory or defeat, and loss or gain, then fighting the battle for its own sake, and killing his relatives in the process, would not accrue any sin to him.[24] In verse 2.39, *kRSNa* starts to explain to *arjuna* how *karmayoga* (or *yoga* through work) leads one to get rid of the bondage of *karma*.[25] In verse 2.40, *kRSNa* tells *arjuna* that in doing one's duties there is no loss, disappointment, offence, diminution, or sin,[26] and if done properly even doing a little bit of one's duties protects one from great fear.

In verse 2.45, *kRSNa* not only encourages *arjuna* to go beyond the *vedas* and the three qualities of nature that they deal with,[27] but also to transcend all perspectives of duality (e.g., happiness–sorrow, gain–loss, etc.). He asks *arjuna* to anchor in that

---

[24] Verse 2:38 states: *sukhduHkhe same kRtvA lAbhAlAbhau jayAjayau, tato yudhaya yujyasva naivaM pApamavApsyasi.*

[25] Verse 2:39: *eSa te'bhihitA sAGkhye buddhiryoge tvimAM zRNu; buddhayA yukto yayA pArtha karmabandhaM prahAsyasi.*

[26] Verse 2:40:*nehAbhikramanazo'sti pratyavAyo na vidyate; svaplpamapyasya dharmasya trAyate mahato bhayAt.*

[27] Verse 2:45: *traiguNyaviSayA vedA nistraiguNyo bhavArjuna; nirdvandvo nityasatvastho niryogakSema AtmavAn.* According to Sanskrit-English Dictionary by Sir M. Monier-Williams (1960, p. 332), *kSema* and *yoga* means rest and exertion, enjoying and acquiring. However, *kSema* by itself means safety, tranquility, peace, rest, security, any secure or easy or comfortable state, weal, happiness as used in the *Rgveda*, the *atharvaveda*, the *manusmRti*, and the *mahAbhArata*. It is plausible to interpret becoming *niryogakSemah* as giving up the desire to achieve that peace of mind or happiness (*kSema*) that comes with the union with *brahman* (*yoga*). In effect, *arjuna* is being exhorted to give up even the most sublime of desires, union with *brahman*, implying that any desire leads to Path 1. This is also reflected in the *zivo'haM stotra* written by *Adi zankara* where he negates *dharma, artha, kAma, and mokSa*, to impute that the real self is beyond the pursuit of these things, which was discussed in Chapter 4.

which is always unchanging (i.e., *brahman*), to go beyond rest and exertion or enjoying and acquiring, and to become one who has realized the *Atman.* In verse 2.48, *kRSNa* again exhorts *arjuna* to do his work by being engaged in *yoga*, by giving up attachment, and by maintaining equanimity in success and failure, and calls this approach to doing work as the balanced way.[28]

In verse 3.5, work is said to be natural to human beings. We are driven by our nature and cannot live even for a moment without doing some work.[29] And in verse 3.7, two steps of how to engage in *karmayoga* (*yoga* through work) are suggested. First, we should regulate our senses by our *manas*,[30] and then we should work with our organs without getting attached to whatever we are doing or the results of our endeavor. Later, in verse 3.30, *arjuna* is advised to fight with a spiritual awareness, without any expectation, without any ego or sense of possession, and without any anxiety or distress of *manas*.[31] And, a final, and perhaps the most unequivocal method, is suggested in verse 3.30a. *arjuna* is asked to surrender all his actions to *kRSNa*. Thus, in these verses, we are provided a method to engage in *karmayoga*, which is depicted in Path 2 as leading to the real self or *Atman*. Further, in verse 3.9b, the idea of working without attachment and with equanimity is again buttressed.

In verse 3.17,[32] it is stated that when a person works by becoming pleased with the inner self, is content with himself or herself, and is satisfied in the self only, then for such a person work does not exist. Thus, this verse gives behavioral measures of how following Path 2 leads to a state when there is no outside reference for pleasure and satisfaction, and the person derives all his or her joy from inside. The social roles are merely to keep one occupied and lose their burdensome binding effect on such a person.[33]

As with Path 1, it is suggested that Path 2 is an iterative process. When one stops worrying about the fruits of one's efforts, performs one's duties by controlling the senses with the *manas*, and allows the work organs to perform their tasks without any anxiety, then slowly one begins to withdraw from the hustle and bustle of the world and begins to be inner centered. Thus, the social self starts to lose its meaning for the person, for it is an external identity, and the person begins to be anchored

---

[28] Verse 2:48: *yogasthaH kuru karmANi, saGgaM tyaktvA dhananjaya, siddhayasiddhayoH samo bhUtvA.samatvaM yoga ucyate.*

[29] Verse 3:5: *na hi kazcitkSaNamapi jAtu tiSThatyakarmakRt; kAryate hyavazaH karma sarvaH prakRtijairguNaiH.*

[30] Verse 3:7: *yastvindriyANi manasA niyamyArabhate'rjuna; karmendriyaiH karmayogamasak-taH sa viziSyate.*

[31] Verse 3.30: *mayi sarvaNi karmaNi sannyasyAdhyAtmacetasaA; nirazIrnirmamo bhUtvA yudhyasva vigaatjvaraH.*

[32] Verse 3.17: *yastvAtmaratireva syAdAtmatRptazca mAnavaH; Atmanyeva ca santuSTastasya kAryaM na vidyate*.

[33] I have found many mellowed full professors in the last few years before their retirement to be much like this even in the US universities.

inside, on the inner self, following this path. The arrow going back to the self shows this inner journey (See Figure 5.1), and the physical self and social self start to slowly melt, and when the intellect of the person becomes stable,[34] then one realizes the *Atman* or the real self. This melting of the self is just the opposite of the explosive growth of the self (see Figures 4.1, 4.2, and 4.3 in Chapter 4, and note arrows showing how social self is ever expanding) that happens when one follows Path 1.

The Superiority of Path 2

In verse 2.49, Path 1 is said to be much inferior to Path 2, as those who pursue the fruits of their endeavor are said to be pitiable or wretched.[35] In this verse, *arjuna* is exhorted to take shelter in Path 2 since work done with the intention of consuming its fruits is immensely inferior to doing it otherwise. In verse 3.7b, Path 2 is said to be much superior to Path 1, as those who work without attachment by employing the work organs into work are said to practice *karmayoga* (*yoga* through work) and are superior than those who do otherwise. Here, it is relevant to note that *karmayoga* (*yoga* through work), which is often referred to in daily conversation among people in South Asia, and the Diaspora, refers to Path 2 and not Path 1.

niSkAma karma and *vedAnta*: *tridoza* and Their Antidotes

According to *advaita vedAnta*, *avidyA* constitutes of three layers: *mala*, *vikSepa*, and *AvaraNa* (*ChAndogyopaniSad*, 1993). *mala* refers to the *dozas* (or flaws) coming with the *saMskAras* or generated by the *saMskAras*, which is cleansed by *niSkAma karma*. *saMskAra* needs to be burned through *karma*. As *vairAgya* increases, *karma* loses its power to draw the attention of the *sAdhaka* (or practitioner). The excitement about work goes away if the excitement about the outcomes is weakened, and this is what *niSkAma karma* helps achieve, slowly but definitely. If one is not excited about making a lot of money, why would one network, why would one do many activities? With the desire for a lot of money goes the desire to work a lot or to do a lot of activities.

vikSepa refers to the unsteady state of *manas* or *citta*. This *doza* has two parts: first is also coming with *saMskAras* or is generated by *saMskAra*, and in that sense it is similar to *mala*. But even when *mala* is washed out with *niSkAma karma*, *manas* is still not steady. This is because the *manas* is wired to react to the environment, and the senses help it do so. The environment sends signals like hot or cold, which

---

[34] *sthitaprajna* or balanced mind is something that is a construct discussed in detail in the *bhagavadgItA* and is discussed later in Chapter 7.

[35] Verse 2:49 states: *dUureNa hyavaraM karma buddhiyogAddhanaJjaya; buddhau zaraNamanviccha kRpaNAH phalhetavaH*.

the body senses. To this sensation *manas* or *citta* reacts, and this natural process of reaction is the second part of *vikSepa*. *Manas* has to be withdrawn from the environment to an internal focus, and this is where *upAsana* helps to steady the *manas* or *citta*. Thus, *upAsana* is needed to remove the *doza* of *vikSepa*.

With all the desires gone, and the steady *manas*, one would "vegetate." Vegetate has a negative connotation – sit around, stagnate, be passive, be sluggish, loaf, twiddle your thumbs, or kill time. But literally with desires gone and steady *manas* one simply lives a physical life, responding to context and people, and simply serving their needs. In this state, even the desire to help others is not there, but since there is no desire to acquire anything for oneself, the person is simply helping people around him or her. This is an advanced stage of pursuit of spirituality, but not the end. There is still the *AvaraNa* or cover that prevents the person from seeing the spiritual form, the oneness with *brahman*. This *doza* is the subtlest of the three and is called *svarUpvismRti*, forgetfulness of one's true self, and is removed by spontaneous kindling of *jnAna* – the deep realization that *tat tvam asi*, you are that. This is the *sthitaprajna* state. One does not lead a life after this *doza* is removed. One simply is.

sakAm karma leads to heaven and hell through *dhUmamArga*, and one keeps going through the cycle of birth and death in the *samsAra*. *niSkAma karma* and *upAsana* leads one through the *acirAdimArga* to one's favorite deity, and one enjoys *sAlokya*, *sAmIpya*, *sAruSya*, or *sAyujya* depending on how advanced one is (*ChAndogyopaniSad* Canto 5). The person who has attained *jnAna* does not leave this body to go anywhere, but each element (*tatva*) of the body merges in the five *mahat* elements, and the person experiences *kaivalyapAda* right here. Such a person is viewed as *jIvanmukta* and *videhamukta* by others but *jIvanmukti* and *videhamukti* are irrelevant for this person himself or herself, and he or she is *nityamukta*, right here, every moment, and this is captured in the dictum – "*vimuktazca vimucyate*."

Thus, the spiritual journey necessarily has four phases – the phase of *karma*, the phase of *niSkAma karma*, the phases of *upAsana* or *bhakti*, and the phase of *jnAna*. This journey is captured in the schematic diagram below (See Figure 5.2) as a progression from *sakAma karma* to *jnAn*. It is plausible that the *sakAma karma* is to be pursued when one is *brahmacAri*, and the objective is to acquire knowledge and skills. As a *grihastha* one should already start practicing *niSkAma karma*. This is why the *dharma* of *grihastha Azrama* is said to be *dAnam*[36] or charity. The practice of charity can lead to the cultivation of *niSkAma karma*. The *dharma* of *vAnaprastha Azrama* is said to be austerity, and *upAsana* or *bhakti* could be argued to be a form of austerity. As can be seen from the life of great devotee saints, they lead a very austere life. One who is in love with *brahman* would not need anything else and simply accepts whatever comes his or her way. Acceptance of what comes

[36] *yatInAmprazamodharmoniyamovanavAsinAm; dAnamevagRhasthAnAmzuzrUSAbrahmcAriNAm*. The *dharma* of *sannyasins* is pacification of *manas*; that of the forest-dweller is austerity; of the householder is charity; and that of the students is service. *zR viSNu sahasranAma*, p. 120. Swami Tapasyananda (1986) (Translator). *zR viSNu sahasranAma*: Commentary of *zR* Adi zankara.

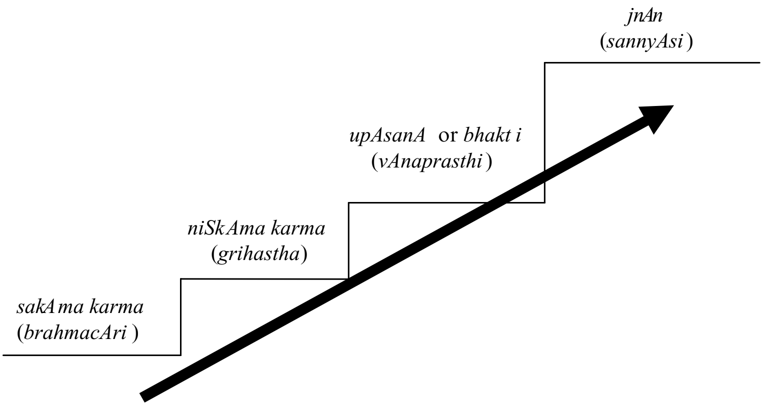


Figure 5.2 A developmental model of spirituality

one's way is a difficult *niyama* or rule to follow, which all saints are seen to follow in their lives. It is also understandable that austerity could lead to *bhakti*. The *dharma* of *sannyAs Azrama* is pursuit of pacification of *manas*, which can only happen with *jnAna*. Thus, the four stages of life seem to fit the four phases of spiritual journey.

The progression from *sakAma karma* to *niSkAma karma* to *UpAsanA* to *jnAna* presented in Figure 5.2 finds support in *Adi zankara's* commentary on the *bhagavadgItA*. An aspirant who does not know the self must perform *karmayoga* to achieve *jnAna* before he or she can qualify to achieve *AtmajnAna* or knowledge of the self.[37] Thus, the ultimate objective is to achieve the knowledge of *Atman*, for which *jnAna* must be pursued through the way of *karmayoga*.

Implications for Global Psychology

The indigenous model presented in this chapter is clearly grounded in the socially constructed worldview of India and is necessarily a culture-specific or emic model. This chapter provides an example of how psychological models can be developed by using insights from religious or other such texts. To claim the universality of the model will be a mistake. However, to neglect it because of its emic content will be a bigger mistake. The model raises many questions for the mainstream or Western psychology and has clear implications for global psychology. First, the construct of self-efficacy will be examined, which is a key concept related to the concept of self, in the context of this model, and then the model's implications for goal setting will be examined. Further, the independent and interdependent concepts of selves,

[37] Commenting on Verse 3.16, *Adi zankara's* writes, "*prAg AtmajnaniSThayogyatAprApteH tadarthyena karmayogAnuSThanam adhikRtena anAtmajnena kartavyam eva iti.*"

which are discussed in great depth in cross-cultural psychology literature, will be explored in the light of this model for the Indian self.

Bandura (1997) has couched self-efficacy in the context of broader social cognitive theory in which human beings are viewed as agents responsible for their development, adaptation, or change. An agent is one who acts with the intention to achieve some end outcome as a result of the action. According to Bandura, self-efficacy is a central and pervasive belief, i.e., a universal or an etic construct, and without it human beings cannot act. Clearly, self-efficacy is closely associated with the physical and social concept of self. For example, an athlete's feats are clearly associated with the physical ability and the regimen of rigorous practice (i.e., the mental ability) they subject themselves to. Similarly, a musician's achievement is associated with his or her physical and mental abilities, and the years of practice provide them the self-efficacy that they can perform at a certain level. It even applies to researchers who do nonrepetitive creative work, who know that they can conduct studies (action) and publish papers (outcome). Thus, self-efficacy is associated with the concepts of our physical and ever expanding social selves (see Figure 5.3) and thus is necessarily an outward process in the context of the model presented here. Whether the concept is generalizable to the inward process discussed in the model remains to be examined.

The model also raises the question if there is a spiritual component to self-efficacy, since the spiritual journey is not outward but inward. If the inner journey requires

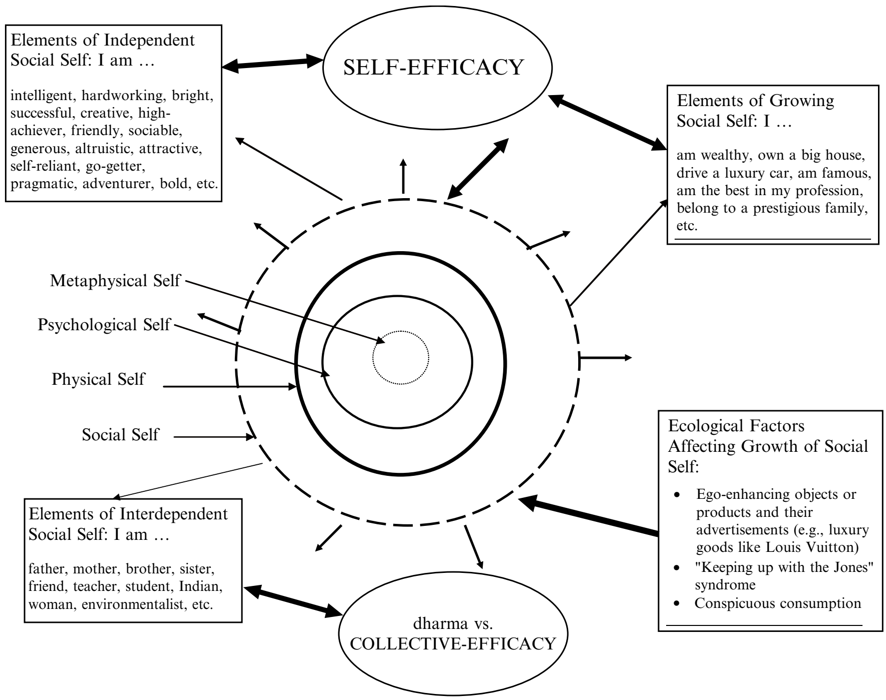


Figure 5.3 Ecological factors, social self, and self-efficacy

the dissolution of the social self, as the model posits, then to advance on the spiritual path one has to get rid of these elements of self-efficacy. In other words, the self-efficacy that makes us so effective in the material world may become a burden while pursuing a spiritual journey. In Indian philosophy, ego has been considered a major hurdle in one's spiritual advancement, and part of the challenge in making spiritual progress is to be able to get rid of the sense of agency, and self-efficacy is nothing but innumerable aspects of that ego and being an agent in countless situations over the duration of one's life. Whereas in the context of self-efficacy or social cognition theory, the model may seem like a mere theoretical conjecture, in the context of this model, self-efficacy is limited to people pursuing Path 1. It is also not clear how self-efficacy would be conceptualized for people who believe that they have a metaphysical self over and above the physical and social selves. Can self-efficacy be divided into two categories, one set for the outer world (for the expanding social self), which would capture the conceptualization presented by Bandura and colleagues, and the other for the inner world (the shrinking social self), which is likely to be found in India? If so, research needs to explore how people develop this new type of self-efficacy not addressed in the literature.

Applying self-efficacy theory to people following Path 2 raises some other interesting questions. According to self-efficacy theory (Bandura, 1977), though self-efficacy can be altered by bogus feedback unrelated to one's performance or by bogus normative comparison, performance accomplishment is the most reliable way of boosting self-efficacy. Therefore, those following Path 2 must have necessarily acquired their self-efficacy through the practice of "not paying attention to the fruits of their effort." But this skill is not readily available to model in the society, since most people follow Path 1. Therefore, it is plausible that this mindset is acquired vicariously first, by simply getting the concept cognitively, and then through self-experimentation with the idea. Path 2 may, therefore, offer some interesting insights into the process of self-efficacy development, especially as it pertains to spiritual self-growth, which has not been hitherto thought about.

Another issue related to self-efficacy deals with social learning theory (Bandura, 1986). The self-efficacy that we can perform a task or act in a certain way is developed through actively performing a task or modeling a social behavior, which is applicable to human behaviors while following Path 1 (see Figure 5.1). It makes intuitive sense that as people make progress on Path 2, they are also likely to develop a self-efficacy in performing their *dharma* or duties without pursuing the fruits of their effort. But this efficacy is developed by constantly watching oneself, and in that sense it is self-learning rather than social learning. An experienced guru or mentor could provide insightful feedback when one is confused, but still the decisions have to be made by people based totally on their personal experience. Thus, social learning theory may not work for self-learning, and the link between self-efficacy and social learning theory, which is so well established for Path 1, does not seem to work for Path 2, and thus questions the generalizability of the theory to the domain of spiritual learning and growth. Also, *dharma* seems to guide people in dealing with their interdependent concept of self as opposed to what is referrred to as collective self-efficacy in western psychology (see Figure 5.3). This too is a unique contribution of the model to global psychology.

Finally, according to self-efficacy theory, the higher the perceived self-efficacy, the longer the individuals persevere on difficult and unsolvable problems before they quit. Also, the stronger the perceived self-efficacy, the higher the goals people set for themselves and the firmer their commitment to them. Path 2 is intuitively more difficult than Path 1, as the spiritual path has been compared to "walking on the razor's edge (Maugham, 1944)." Therefore, those pursuing Path 2 are likely to have a much higher self-efficacy in letting go of the fruits of their effort than those following Path 1. One of the attributes of spiritually inclined people Pursuing Path 2 is the higher degree of detachment (*vairAgya*) from material entities around them. Therefore, it is quite likely that detachment from material entities is closely associated with spiritual self-efficacy, which has not been hitherto thought about. It is also plausible that this higher level of self-efficacy, a form of spiritual self-efficacy, helps spiritual leaders like Gandhi, Martin Luther King, and Mother Teresa to address challenging and serious social problems that are chronic. These leaders with spiritual self-efficacy are clearly much more persistent than the garden variety of politicians whose job it is to solve social problems. Thus, future research needs to address the construct of spiritual self-efficacy.

The model also raises questions about what we know about goal setting. In the light of current knowledge about goal setting, it is difficult to visualize how one may proceed to perform one's work without concern for the fruits of his or her effort, lacking the basic motivation that is provided by goals (Locke, 1986). One who pursues Path 2 is likely to set goals to plan one's day, week, or year, and then reschedule the next day, week, or year based on how much gets done, without either celebrating the success or expressing frustration about the failure. When working with the intention not to chase the fruits of our efforts, one enters a zone where goals are not important, and they lose their motivating potential. In such situations, the person becomes an observer of his or her own work and behavior (*draSTA*) rather than being an agent setting goals and taking actions (or *kartA*) to meet those goals.

The model also has consequences for the concept of independent and interdependent concepts of selves (Markus & Kitayama, 1991), which have come to shape major theories like individualism and collectivism (Bhawuk, 2001b; Triandis, 1995). As shown in Figure 5.3, the social self includes both interdependent and independent concepts of selves, and as predicted individualists would have an independent concept of self and collectivists would have an interdependent concept of self. As collectivists, Indians are likely to have an interdependent concept of self, and be guided by their *dharma* in managing these relationships. However, in the Indian conceptualization of self, the self also extends to the metaphysical self (i.e., *Atman*), beyond the social self, and so an Indian is also likely to have an independent concept of self. Thus, there is a need to synthesize the dichotomy of independent and interdependent concept of self rather than view them as exclusive.

The model also offers some value for practice as one can use the model for his or her personal growth and test its validity for oneself by reflecting on changes in life in terms of reduced attachment to various social selves, increase in felt calmness and peace, and a clear reduction in work and social stress. As a practitioner, based on my personal experience, I am comfortable stating that the model does seem to work.

To conclude, this chapter shows that it is possible to develop indigenous models from the philosophical traditions of a culture by starting with a non-Western model, instead of starting with the existing literature, to avoid imposed etic or pseudoetic approach guided by Western models and worldview. It is hoped that by developing models from other cultures of how people can lead a spiritual life, we will be able to enrich our understanding of cross-cultural similarities and differences in the pursuit of spirituality. This chapter contributes by attempting to show how for global-community psychology useful psychological models can be derived from indigenous psychology and further bolsters the idea that models can be derived from classical texts. The chapter raised many questions for the mainstream psychology and hopefully answers to these questions would facilitate the development of global-community psychology in the future.

Chapter 6
A Process Model of Desire

Psychologists have argued about the primacy of cognition and emotion for decades without any resolution. Deriving ideas from the *bhagavadgItA*, in this chapter, cognition, emotion, and behavior are examined by anchoring them in desire. The model presented here posits that cognition, emotion, and behavior derive significance when examined in the context of human desires, and starting with perception and volition, cognition emerges when a desire crystallizes. Desires lead to behaviors, and the achievement or nonachievement of a desire causes positive or negative emotions. Through self-reflection, contemplation, and the practice of *karmayoga* desires can be better managed, which can help facilitate healthy management of emotions. It is hoped that insights provided by this model would stimulate research for further examination of the role of desire in understanding and predicting cognition, emotion, and behavior.

In this chapter, the literature on emotion is briefly reviewed to set the stage for the presentation of an indigenous model derived from the *bhagavadgItA*. By utilizing an ecological perspective, the model shows how the self interacts with the environment to develop cognition, emotion, and desire and how the self performs actions to achieve the desire leading to positive or negative effects. The generalizability of the model is examined by testing how it fits with other Indian texts like *pataJjali's yogasutras* and *vedAntic* texts like *yogavAsiSTha* and *vivekcudAmaNi*. Finally, implications of this model for global psychology and future research are discussed.

Emotion in Anthropology and Psychology

Emotion can be defined at the microbrain chemistry level as well as at a macropsychological construct level (Marsella, 1994). Measuring and studying emotion at both levels serve important functions. Cook and Campbell (1979) asserted that there is value in studying variables at the molar or macro level, despite the evidence that mediating variables are present at the micro level. This suggests there is value in studying emotions as psychological constructs (e.g., anger, and greed) as well as in understanding the brain chemistry of emotions. Borrowing the objective–subjective

D.P.S. Bhawuk, *Spirituality and Indian Psychology*, International and Cultural Psychology, DOI 10.1007/978-1-4419-8110-3_6, © Springer Science+Business Media, LLC 2011

framework presented by Triandis (1972) in the study of culture, it could be argued that the physical symptoms of emotions are objective aspects of emotion (e.g., independent observers would agree to seeing tears in the eyes of a person), whereas the psychological elements constitute the subjective culture.

Following the same principle that causation can be studied at a macro level despite our knowledge of how micro-level variables cause certain phenomena, the debate about the origin of emotion, whether it is biological first and then psychological (Archer, 1979; Blanchard & Blanchard, 1984, 1988; Izard, 1972, 1991; James, 1890; Plutchik & Kellerman, 1986; Svare, 1983), is less rewarding. Having gone through thousands of years of socio-cultural change or "evolution," it is quite meaningful to study emotions as shaped and moderated by cultural values and practices, albeit in the ecological context (Damasio, 1999; Wentworth & Yardley, 1994), and certainly, it is not of less value than the genetic makeup of our emotional expressions, which the proponents of evolutionary nature of emotion strongly adhere to (Wilson, 1984).

Anthropologists have studied emotions as either a biological or a cultural phenomenon (Leavitt, 1996). Biologically, emotions are physical feelings, have evolutionary roots, and are therefore etics or universals. Culturally, emotions are socially constructed, their meaning transmitted from generation to generation through language and nonverbal communication, and thus are emics or culture specific. Leavitt (1996) posited that there was a need to synthesize both the feeling and meaning aspects of emotions, and this perspective is gaining support in anthropology (Lupton, 1998; Milton, 2005).

Some researchers accept the dual nature of emotion; however, they assert the primacy of emotion as a social phenomenon (Hochschild, 1998; Lyon, 1998; Parkinson, 1995; Shweder, 1993; Williams, 2001). Much like ecological psychologists who stress the conjoint nature of behavior settings and behaviors (Barker, 1968), these researchers stress that emotions are a function of the socio-cultural contexts in which they arise, are expressed using cultural symbols, and are interpreted in the meaning system of the particular culture. In other words, the same physical feeling may be expressed (using different languages), interpreted (using different meaning systems), and dealt with (using different behaviors) differently across cultures. This has been further supported by cross-cultural psychologists (Markus & Kitayama, 1991, 1994). Thus, there is merit in studying emotions in the socio-cultural context.

Mishra (2005) reviewed the Indian literature on emotion and also presented an anthropological report on indigenous emotional concepts of *rasa* and *bhAva*. *rasa* means the sap or juice of plants, and by implication it refers to the essence or the best or finest of anything. In poetry and dramaturgy, *rasa* refers to the taste or character of a work or the feeling or sentiment prevailing in it. The eight *rasas* are zR*GgAr* (love), *vIra* (heroism), *bIbhatasa* (disgust), *raudra* (anger or fury), *hAsya* (mirth), *bhayAnaka* (terror), *karuNA* (pity), and *adbhuta* (wonder). zA*anta* (tranquility or contentment) and *vAtsalya* (paternal fondness) are two other *rasas* that have been added to the list. *bhAva* translates as emotion and is of two types: *sthAyin* or primary and *vyabhicArin* or subordinate. *sthAyin bhAvas* refer to the same 8 (or 9 including zA*nta*) *rasas*, whereas the *vyabhicArin* are of 33 (or 34) types. Thus, though we find

a typology of emotions in the Indian literature, much of the psychological research has not used them in any way in measurement or theory building. In this chapter, a more basic issue, the relationship between emotion, cognition, desire, and behavior is modeled, and it is hoped that future research would take advantage of the existing typology of emotion for further theory building.

Anchoring Cognition, Emotion, and Behavior in Desire

In the second Canto of the *bhagavadgItA*, a process of how anger is generated is presented, which is delineated in the 62nd verse.[1] When a person thinks about an object (or a subject), he or she develops an attachment for it. Attachment leads to desire, and from desire anger is manifested. The above process is captured in Figure 6.1.

As stated in the verse, and shown in the schematic diagram, through the process of perception, a person develops the cognition or thinks (*dhyAyataH*) about

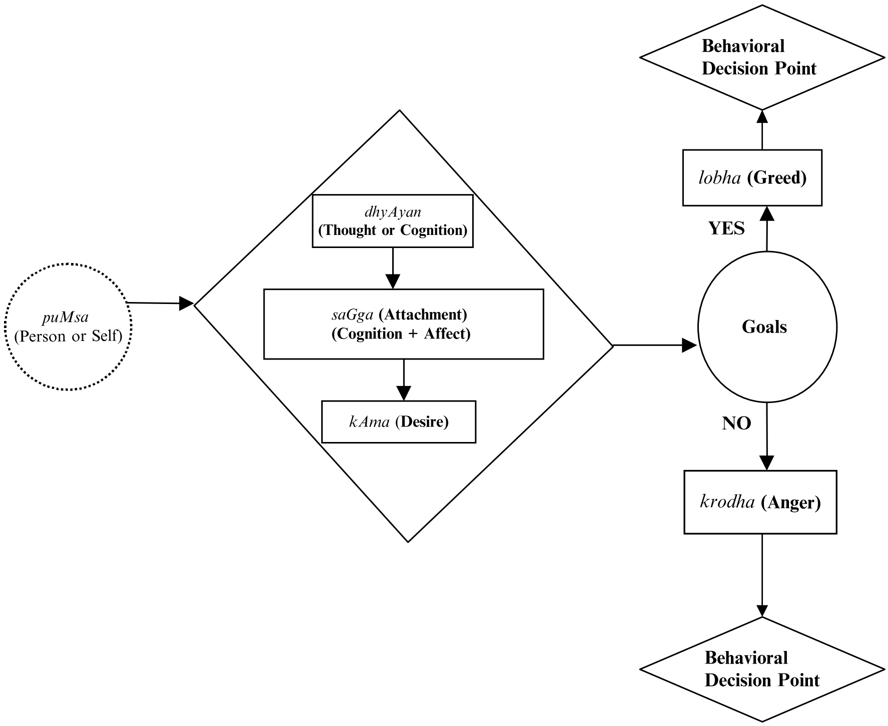


Figure 6.1 Desire as the locus of cognition, emotion, and behavior (adapted from Bhawuk, 2008c)

[1] Verse 2.62: *dhyAyato viSayAnpuMsaH saGgsteSupajAyate; saGgAtsaJjAyate kAmaH kAmAtkrodho'bhijAyate*.

an object. Constant thinking about the object leads to *saGga* (or attachment) to the object. Attachment clearly has an affective component, which is built on the cognitive component coming from the thinking or cognitive stage. Attachment is often found to be associated with an object, an idea, or a concept. Therefore, having a cognitive schema of such an object, idea, or concept is a precondition for attachment to develop. Thus, attachment has both cognitive and affective components. Attachment leads to desire (*kAma*) for the object. As a desire crystallizes, emotion and cognition become clear to the person, and in effect should be describable or measurable. Since the human mind is a thought factory that constantly churns out thoughts, thoughts in themselves may be difficult to measure and study. But those thoughts that lead to desires through attachment have impact on our behavioral intentions and future behavior. Thus, desire is plausibly the first significant psychological construct that leads to behavior (Bhawuk, 1999; Perugini & Bagozzi, 2001).

Though not explicated in the verse, it is reasonable to postulate that desires lead to the setting of goals, which can be financial, academic, personal (e.g., health, how one looks, and so forth), etc., through which desires can be achieved. Thus, desires drive behavior, which is directed toward goals. The verse states that desires lead to anger. Clearly, if desires are not met as planned, we are likely to get angry. Though the verse posits that desires lead to anger, it seems reasonable that this happens only when desired outcomes are not achieved. It should be noted that unfulfilled desire does lead directly to anger in the interpersonal context. When we expect a certain behavior from somebody, we want that person to act in a certain way in a given context or situation. Interpersonal expectation clearly is a form of desire. When the person does not act as expected, oftentimes our knee-jerk response is an angry admonition, a firm warning where anger is socially shaped into an acceptable expression, or a simple sign of outrage as seen in honking of cars on American streets or freeways. Thus, often when desires are not met we do become angry, and this is aptly captured in the verse.

The *bhagavadgItA* does not discuss what happens if the desires are fulfilled, but it makes intuitive sense that fulfillment of desires is likely to lead to a positive feeling, happiness, or joy. It seems reasonable that when goals are met, the person either moves on to something else or continues to pursue the behavior to obtain more of the same or something higher or better. In fact, in a verse in the third Canto of the *bhagavadgItA*, desires are compared to fire that is never satiated.[2] Therefore, in Figure 6.1, greed is posited as a consequent of fulfillment of goals. Thus, interacting with ecology and thinking about the objective or the subjective worlds lead a person to develop attachment to elements of these worlds (see Figure. 3.1). Attachment leads to the development of desire for the object. Thus, an individual is directed toward goals through *dhyAyan* (or thoughts), *saGga* (or attachment), and *kAma* (or desire). When desired goals are not met, the person is unhappy, i.e., anger

[2]Verse 3.39: *AvRtaM jnAnametena jnAnino nityavairiNA; kAmarUpeNa kaunteya duSpUreNAnalena ca.*

is generated. When desired goals are attained, the individual wants more, i.e., greed is generated. Thus, desires are at the center of both emotions – greed and anger.

The significance of desire can be seen in that to obtain harmony one has to learn to deal with one's own desires. In verse 2.71 of the *bhagavadgItA*, it is stated that the person who gives up all desires attains peace by dwelling in the world without any sense of ownership, identity, or greed (see Bhawuk, 1999; also Chapter 7 for a model that captures the process of how one achieves peace). Further, in verse 3.41, it is stated that we can go beyond desires or we can conquer desires by regulating our senses.[3] The choice of words is quite strong in this verse. Desires are referred to as the destroyer of *jnAna* and *vijnAna*, or all knowledge, and thus are labeled, *pApmAnam*, or the great sin, and *kRSNa* asks *arjuna* to kill (*prajahi*) desire by regulating the senses.

A General Model of Psychological Processes and Desire

In verse 40 of the third Canto of the *bhagavadgItA*, it is stated that desires reside in the sense organs (eyes, ears, nose, tongue, and skin), *manas* (or mind), and *buddhi* (intellect or ability to discriminate right from wrong), and that desires are so powerful that they cover the person's *jnAna* (i.e., knowledge or ability to discriminate between right and wrong)[4] and bewilder him or her. Clearly, the self interacts with body and *manas*, and then with the elements of the environment or ecology, and this interaction leads to perception and cognition of what the environment has to offer. The ecology or environment is referred to here as the material world, to remain faithful to the indigenous worldview and also to provide an indigenous flavor.[5] From many alternatives, the self cognitively chooses some elements from the environment, which leads to attachment to these elements. Following this attachment, which has both cognitive and affective elements, a desire is born, but not all desires catch our attention since we only have limited personal resources and we cannot pursue all desires. Thus, the self pursues few objectives or the objects of the selected few desires. Achievement of such desires leads to positive affect or emotion, whereas nonachievement of the desires leads to negative affect or emotion (see Figure 6.2).

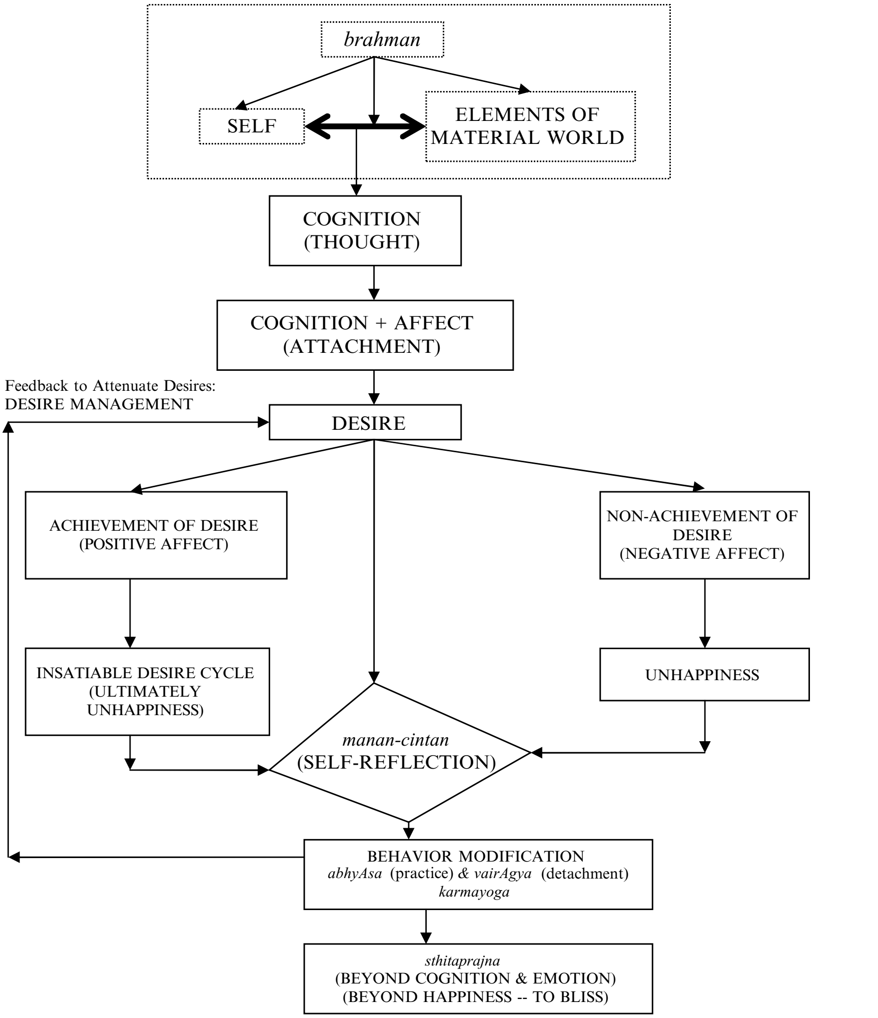
Negative affect or emotions are clearly the sources of unhappiness, but the *bhagavadgItA* also suggests that even positive affects resulting from the achievement of desires ultimately lead to unhappiness. Desires are by nature insatiable, as the fulfillment of one leads to the emergence of another. In verse 22 of the fifth

---

[3] Verse 3.41: *tasmAttvamindRyANyAdau niyamya bharatrSabha; pApmAnaM prajahi hyenaM jnAnavijnAnanAzanam.*

[4] Verse 3.40: *indriyaNi mano buddhirasyAdhiSThAnamucyate; etairvimohayatyeSa jnAnmAvRtya dehinam.*

[5] Often the environment or ecology in which we operate is referred to as the material world in the Indian worldview to separate the material from the spiritual and to separate the mundane or ever changing from the sublime or intransient. Thus, I refer to the ecology or environment as the material world in the model to capture and to remain faithful to the indigenous spirit and worldview and also to provide an indigenous flavor.



"When I pushed forward, I was whirled about. When I stayed in place, I sank. And so I crossed the flood without pushing forward, without staying in place."(Buddha: **ogha-tarana sutta, samyutta nikaya)**

Figure 6.2 A general model of psychological processes and desire

Canto, it is stated that all enjoyments resulting from the contact between human body (and *manas*) and the environment sooner or later lead to distress. Therefore, those who are wise do not take delight in worldly activities.[6] Further, in the 14th Canto, it is stated that *rajas* or the mode of passion leads to work (verses 14.9 and

6 Verse 5.22: *ye hi saMsparzajA bhogA duHkhayonaya eva te; AadyantavantaH kaunteya na teSu ramate budhaH.*

14.12[7]), and the mode of passion is said to be the cause of greed (verses 14.12 and 14.17) and unhappiness (verse 14.16). Thus, all desires in the end become the cause of unhappiness, even though they may bring some happiness early on.[8] This idea is missing in the mainstream literature on happiness or subjective well-being led by Diener and colleagues (Diener, 2008).

The *bhagavadgItA* recommends the practice of *karmayoga*, or the path of work (or doing one's prescribed duties), as the intervention to avoid the unhappiness resulting from the pursuit of desires. This is done through *manan* and *cintan* or self-reflection and contemplation. By constantly reflecting on our desires and their consequences, we can develop an awareness of how our mind is drawn to the elements of the world. We can slowly wean ourselves from desires by negotiating with our inner-selves and by recognizing the futility of the cycle of fulfillment and insatiable reemergence. Thus, self-reflection and contemplation are necessary for us to adopt the path of *Karmayoga*, or any spiritual path, which can help us veer away from the fetters of desires.

The *bhagavadgItA* recommends *Karmayoga* as superior to all other methods of self-realization. In verse 12 of the 12th Canto, it is stated that the path of *jnAna* (or knowledge) is superior to the path of practice (constantly trying to think about God); *dhyAna* (or meditation) is superior to the path of *jnAna*; and giving up the fruits of one's endeavor is superior to *dhyAna*.[9] It further states that giving up the fruits of one's endeavor leads to peace of mind. This peaceful state of mind is described in the *bhagavadgItA* as the *sthitaprajna* state or the state of equanimity in which a person goes beyond cognition, emotion, and behavior, even beyond happiness – to bliss.

---

[7] Verse 14.9: *satvaM sukhe saJjAyati rajaH karmaNi bhArat; JnAnamAvRtya tu tamaH pramAde saJjayatyuta*. The mode of goodness leads to happiness, the mode of passion to work, and the mode of ignorance to negligence (or to intoxication and madness in extreme cases). Verse 14.12: *LlbhaH pravrittirArambhaH karmaNAmazamaH sprihA; rajasyetAni jAyante vivriddhe bharatarSabha*. O *arjuna*, when the mode of passion controls us, there is a growth of desire to start activities; we do activities primarily with self-interest in mind; and we become greedy. Verse 14.15: *rajasi pralayaM gatvA karmasaGgiSu jAyate; tathA pralInastamasi mUdhayoniSu jAyate*. When the mode of passion takes precedence, then after death we are born as human beings who are attached to the material world and activities; whereas when the mode of ignorance takes precedence, then after death we are born as animals and insects. Verse 14.16: *karmaNaH sukRtasyAhuH sAtvikaM nirmalaM phalam; rajasastu phalam duHkhamajnAnaM tamasaH phalam*. Work done in the mode of goodness brings happiness, knowledge, and detachment, whereas the mode of passion brings misery and the mode of ignorance brings confusion. Verse 14.17: *satvAtsaJjAyate jnAnam rajaso lobha eva ca; pramAdmohau tamaso bhavato'jnAnameva ca*. From the mode of goodness comes knowledge, whereas from the mode of passion comes greed and from the mode of ignorance comes negligence, confusion, and illusion.

[8] In the *bhAgavatam* (9.19.14) it is stated that desires are never satisfied by their fulfillment; instead they grow just like fire grows when ghee is offered to it (*na jAtu kAmaH kAmAnAmupabhogena zAmyati; haviSA kRSNavartmeva bhUya evAbhivardhate*). This is explicated in the story of YayAti (the son of NahuSa) who borrows the youth of his son PururavA, and his desires still remained unsatiated.

[9] Verse 12.12: *zreyo hi jnAnamabhyAsAjjnAnAddhyAnaM viziSyate; dhyAnAtkarmaphalaty AgastyAgacchAntiranantaram*.

In the second Canto of the *bhagavadgItA*, the characteristics of a person in the state of *sthitaprajna* (a stage in which a person is calm and in harmony irrespective of the situation; literally, *sthita* means standing or firm, and *prajnA* means judgment or wisdom, thus meaning one who has calm discriminating judgment and wisdom) are described. To arrive at this state, a person gives up all desires that come to the mind and remains contented within one's true self or the A*tman* (2.55). In this state, the person is free from all emotions like attachment, fear, and anger, and neither gets agitated when facing miseries, nor does he or she pursue happiness (2.56). In this state, the person does not have affection for anybody and neither feels delighted when good things happen nor feels bad when bad things happen (2.57). The person is able to withdraw all senses from the sense organs and objects, much like a tortoise is able to withdraw itself under its shield (2.58), and the sense organs are under complete control of the person (2.61, 2.68). Thus, the *bhagavadgItA* describes the possibility of a state in which we can actually rise above cognition, emotion, and behavior and presents *karmayoga* as a process to achieve this state. In other words, despite engaging in our prescribed duties (or *svadharma* as discussed in Chapter 5), we can go beyond cognition and emotion if we take our *manas* away from the fruits of our effort, i.e., by managing our desires[10] (see Chapter 5 for a discussion of this process).

Support for the Model in Other Indian Texts

We can find support for the model in other important Indian texts like *pAtaJjal yogasutras*, *yogavAsiSTha*, and *Adi Shankara*'s *vivekcudAmaNi* (or the Crest-jewel of Discriminating Intellect). The two paths leading to positive and negative emotions are succinctly captured by the 17th and 8th aphorisms of the second Canto of *pAtaJjal yogasutras*. The aphorisms state that *rAga* (or positive emotion) is generated by happiness and *dveSa* (or hostility or negative emotion) is generated by unhappiness.[11] In other words, when desires are fulfilled we are happy and have positive emotions, which then lead us to seek more such desires.

On the other hand, when desires are not fulfilled, we become angry, unhappy, and hostile to events or people that are roadblocks in the path of the fulfillment of our desires. In an extreme case, the thought of such unfulfilled desires may arouse frustration, anger, and hostility, which is often the case with unresolved issues from childhood that hinder many people to function effectively as adults.

---

[10] Verse 4.20: *tyaktvA karmaphalAsaGgaM nityatripto nirAzrayaH; karmaNyabhipravRtto'pi naiva kiJcitkaroti saH*. Verse 3.37: *kAma eSa krodha eSa rajoguNasamudbhavaH; mahAzano mahApApmA viddhyenamiha vairiNam*. Verse 3.43: *evaM buddheH paraM buddhva saMstabhyAtmAnamAtmanA; jahi zatruM mahAbAho kAmarUpaM durAsadam*. Verse 2.71: *vihAya kAmAnyaH sarvAnpumAMzcarati niHsprihaH; nirmamo nirahaGkAraH sa zAntimadhigacchati*. Verse 5.23: *zaknotIhaiva yaH sodhuM prAkzarIravimokSaNAt; kAmakrodhodbhavaM vegaM sa yuktaH sa sukhI naraH*. Verse 4.19: *yasya sarve samArambhAH kAmasaGkalpavarjitAH; jnAnAgnidagdhakarmANaM tamAhuH panditaM budhAH*.

[11] Aphorism 2.7: *sukhAnuzAyI rAgaH;* Aphorism 2.8: *duHkhAnuzAyI dveZaH*.

The development of the emotions of *rAga* and *dveSa* clearly has a developmental aspect in that happy moments go on to act as positive reinforcement, whereas negative experiences act as negative reinforcements. From childhood and other socialization experiences, we may be hard wired to react positively to the fulfillment of desires and negatively to the unfulfillment of desires. That even fulfillment of desires ultimately leads to unhappiness is also supported in *pataJjali's yogasutras*, and it is stated that the wise regard all experiences as painful.[12] Swami Prabhavananda (2005) explains it as follows:

> But the man of spiritual discrimination regards all these experiences as painful. For even the enjoyment of present pleasure is painful, since we already fear its loss. Past pleasure is painful because renewed cravings arise from the impressions it has left upon the mind. And how can any happiness be lasting if it depends only upon our moods? For these moods are constantly changing, as one or another of the ever-warring *guNas* seizes control of the mind (Swami Prabhavananda, 2005, pp. 84–85).

Further in *pAtaJjal yogasutra*, *vairAgya* (detachment or nonattachment) is proposed as a tool to control the wandering nature of *manas*[13] (*citta vRtti*), and *vairAgya* is defined as not hankering after the objects of the material world that we come into contact with through our sense organs, e.g., our eyes and ears (Swami Abhedananda, 1967).[14] *vairAgya* is the opposite of attachment (see Figure 6.2, the block labeled "cognition + affect" = attachment), and since attachment develops when we keep thinking about a material object, *vairAgya* correctly is cultivated by taking our mind away from these objects. *vairAgya* is further defined as the rejection of all the elements of the material world by realizing the true nature of our self or the *Atman*[15] (Prabhavananda, 2005). Thus, we see that in *pAtaJjal yogasutra* the focus is on realizing the true nature of self through the development of an attitude of nonattachment to or detachment from the material world or the environment. This approach does not even allow a desire to be born, thus avoiding the consequent suffering that desires lead to through either achievement or nonachievement of desires shown in the model in Figure 6.2. Thus, understanding one's desires and managing them is critical to the practice of *yoga* proposed by pataJjali.

In the *yogavAsiSTha*, the material world is compared to mirage, or the optical illusion of water in the desert,[16] and the true self is said to be beyond *manas* and the

---

[12] Aphorism 2.15: *pariNamatApa-saMskAraduHkhairaguNavRttivirodhAcca duHkhameva sarvaM vivekinaH*.

[13] Aphorism 1.12: *abhyAsavairAgyAbhyAM tannirodhaH*. The five types of *vRttis* discussed in aphorisms 1.5 to 1.11 are controlled by cultivating a regimen of practice and nonattachment.

[14] Aphorism 1.15: *dRStAnuzravikaviSayavitRSNasya vashIkArsaJjnA vairAgyam*. *vairagya* is the taming of the self by not hankering after the objects that we sample from the material world through our senses, e.g., our eyes and ears.

[15] Aphorism 1.16: *tatparam puruSakhyAterguNavaitRSNyam*. *vairAgya* entails the rejection of all material entities through the knowledge of the atman, or the true self.

[16] *yogavAsiSTha* verse 30.5: *yat idaM dRzyate kiMcit tat nAsti nRpa kiMcana; marusthale yathA vAri khe vA gandharvapattnam*. Oh, King! Whatever is seen here is nothing but a mirage or optical illusion that appears to be water in the desert, or the fantasy of city of angels in the sky.

five senses[17] (Bharati, 1982). The "evolving creation"[18] is said to be reflected on the true self, and in that sense the world and the physical self are mere reflections on the true self. We see that in *yogavAsiSTha* the concepts of self and the world are clearly viewed as unique Indian emics, emphasizing the spirituality of human life and underplaying the physical nature of both self and the environment. Further, the *yogavAsiSTha* discusses how *saGga* or attachment is the cause of the existence of the material world, all our affairs, hopes, and calamities.[19] Like the *bhagavadgItA*, the *yogavAsiSTha* uses the word "*saGga*" (or attachment) and further defines the absence of attachment as the state of mind when one accepts whatever comes his or her way as it is (i.e., one does not desire any object or activity, and is satisfied with naturally evolving events in one's life, which is identical to the idea of *yadRcchAlAbhasaMtuSTaH* presented in the *bhagavadgItA* in verse 4.22), without any emotion, e.g., without delighting in happiness or mourning unhappiness, maintaining a balance in prosperity and adversity.[20] Clearly, the absence of *saGga* or attachment would preempt any desire (i.e., if there is no attachment, there will be no desire) as shown in the model in Figure 6.2.

Desires are compared to an intoxicated elephant in the *yogavAsiSTha*, which is the cause of infinite calamities and recommends that we vanquish it using *dhairya* (or patience).[21] The idea that positive effects ultimately lead to unhappiness[22] as they come to an end is also supported in the *yogavAsiSTha*, and it is suggested that when we maintain a balance between what is pleasing and what is not, we are able

---

[17] *yogavAsiSTha* verse 30.6: *manaHSaSThendriyAtItaM yattu no drizyate kvacit; avinAzaM tadastIha tat sat Atmeti kathyate*. That reality, which cannot be comprehended by the five senses and the mind, or can be seen anywhere, is called the *Atman*, and that is the truth or reality.

[18] It is interesting to note that the universe is referred to as "*sargaparamparA*." *Sarga* literally means the creation, and *parampara* means tradition. The compound word *sargaparamparA* means a world that has been passed on from generation to generation as tradition, and could mean an evolving world, without using the word in the Darwinian sense of evolution.

[19] *yogavAsiSTha* verse 19.49: *saGgaH kAraNamarthAnAm saGgaH sansArakAraNaM; saGgaH kAraNamAzAnAM saGgaH kAraNamApadAm*.

[20] *yogavAsiSTha* verses 19.52 and 53: *kathyate saGgaHzabden vAsana bhavakArinI; saMpadi vipadicAtmA yadi te lakSyate samaH. duHkhaih na glAnimAyAsi yadi hRzyasi no sukhaiH; yathAprAptAnuvartI ca tadA'sangosi rAghava*.

[21] *yogavAsiSTha* verse 31.56–58: *astyatyantamadonmattA kariNIcchAsamAhvayA; sA chet na hanyate nUnaM anantAnarthakAriNI*. (31.56). *bhUmikAsu ca sarvAsu saJcAro naiva sAdhyate; vAsanehA manaH cittaM saGkalpo bhAvanaM spRhA*. (31.57). *ityAdIni ca nAmAni tasyA eva bhavanti hi; dhairyanAmnA varAstrena caitAM sarvAtmanA jayet*. (31.58). In verses 30.38 and 39 it is stated that when desire is destroyed one realizes the ultimate reality that the self or *atman* is the same as *brahman*. *yavat viSayabhogAzA jIvAkhyA tAvat AtmanaH; avivekena saMpannA sA'pyAzA hi na vastutaH* (30.38). *vivekavazato yAtA kSayaM AzA yadA tadA; AtmA jIvatvam utsrijya brahmatAm etyanAmayah* (30.39).

[22] *yogavAsiSTha* verse 30.32: *baddhavAsanaM artho yaH sevyate sukhayatyasau; yat sukhAya tadevazu vastu duHkhAya nazataH*.

to avoid negative effect.[23] Thus, it is concluded in the *yogavAsiSTha* that desires are fetters and their absence is freedom.[24]

The stage beyond cognition and emotion is captured in the notion of "*jIvanmuktaH*" in the *yogavAsiSTha*, which is similar to the notion of *sthitaprajna* in the *bhagavadgItA*. When a person is in this state of mind, he or she lives like an emperor without having any concern about what he or she eats or wears, or where he or she sleeps.[25] In this stage, the person is free of all prescribed roles and responsibilities and happily enjoys the true self with profoundness, sagacity, and earnestness.[26] Having renounced the fruits of all actions, in this stage the person is untainted by virtue and sin and is ever satisfied – not in need of any support whatsoever.[27] In this stage, the person may stop chanting the hymns or performing other kinds of worship as they lose their significance for him or her, who may carry out or even ignore proper behaviors.[28] A person in this stage does not fear anybody nor does anybody fear him or her, and it does not matter whether this person departs from this world, i.e., leaves the human body, in a holy place or an undesirable place.[29] As a crystal reflects colors without getting tinted by the colors it reflects, so does the person who has realized the true self does not get affected by the fruits of his or her actions.[30] The importance of this stage and the value attached to this stage in the Indian culture becomes transparent in the verse where it is stated that a person who has achieved this stage is fit to be worshipped, praised, and saluted.[31]

The model presented in Figure 6.2 is also consistent with the *advaita vedAntic* school of thought where human body is considered the nonself that is made of food and dies without food as compared to the *Atman*, which is the true self (see Figures

---

[23] *yogavAsiSTha* verse 30.17: *idaM ramyaM idaM neti bIjaM tat duHkhasantateH; tasmin sAmyAgninA dagdhe duHkhasyAvasarH kutaH.*

[24] *yogavAsiSTha* verse 31.63: *bahunA'tra kiM uktena saMkSepAt idaM ucyate; saMkalpanaM paro bandhah tadbhAvo vimuktatA.*

[25] *yogavAsiSTha* verse 30.42: *prakRtiH bhAvanAnAmnI mokdhaH syAt eSa eva aH*; *yena kenacit Acchanno yena kenacit AzitaH.*

[26] *yogavAsiSTha* verse 30.43: *yatra kvacana zAyI ca sa samrAdiva rAjate; varNadharmAzramAcArazastrayantraNayojjhitaH.*

[27] *yogavAsiSTha* verse 30.44: *gambhIrazca prasannazca ramate svAtmanA"tmani; sarvakarmaphalatyAgI nityatripto nirAzrayaH.*

[28] *yogavAsiSTha* verse 30.46: *tajjnaH karmaphalenAntaH tathA nAyAti raJjanam. niHstotro nirvikArazca pUjyapUjAvivarjitaH.*

[29] *yogavAsiSTha* verse 30.47: *saMyuktazca viyuktazca sarvAcArnayakramaiH; tasmAt nodvijate loko lokat nodvijate ca saH. tanuM tyajatu vA tIrthe zvapacasya grihe'pi vA.*

[30] *yogavAsiSTha* verse 30.45: *na punyena na pApena netareNa ca lipyate; sphatikaH pratibimbena na yAti raJjanaM yathA.*

[31] *yogavAsiSTha* verse 49: *sa pUjaniyaH sa stutyo namaskAryaH sa yatnataH; sa nirIkSyo'bhivAdyazca vibhUtivibhavaiSiNA.* The qualities of a *jIvanmuktaH* are also captured in many other places in the *yogavAsiSTha* (see for example verses 19.50, 19.51, 30.30, 30.31, 30.33, 31.4, 31.22 and 31.25).

4.1–4.3).[32] The material world is referred to as something unreal or as a prison.[33] An aspirant of spirituality is advised to go beyond the physical self and the world. This is clearly stated in the *vivekcudAmaNi*, especially in verses 268–291, where *Adi zankara* enjoins the seeker to do away with the mistaken superimposition of the nonself on the true self. In *advaita vedAnta*, the self is constantly examined with the focus on the true self or the *Atman*, and the interaction of the body with the outside world is kept to a bare minimum in that a spiritual aspirant does not engage in too many activities. It is not possible to stop working, so a person has to slowly wean himself or herself from work. The weaning process involves shifting the focus away from the outcome of work. Working long hours and being productive is possible, and natural in the early phases of spiritual progress, but the practitioner needs to systematically give up the fruits of his or her efforts, so that he or she can finally arrive at a mental state where working or not working is immaterial – one works only to sustain the physical self consuming little of the material world.

The objective in *advaita vedAnta* is to reduce the vector, arrow going from the interaction of the self and elements of the material world to cognition, (see Figure 6.2) to zero or to make it as close to zero as possible. Thus, a person practicing *advaita vedAnta* works to prevent desires to be formed at its root, where the self interacts with the environment, by not allowing cognition or thoughts to take shape. This is done by practicing meditation in which a *vedAntin* watches his or her thoughts constantly and lets them go. This process allows him or her to go beyond cognition and emotion by virtue of having minimal engagement with the world. As stated in *pataJjali's yogasutras*, the yogic practitioner uses meditation to avoid the false identification of the experiencer with the experience, which causes pain.[34] The description of *sthitaprajna* and *jIvanmukta* also applies to the *advaita vedAntins*, except that they do not go through the painful cycle of desiring and then giving up desires. Clearly, this is not a journey for ordinary people who have strong physical identities and are passionate about the physical and social worlds. The model captures the two paths quite well – the common people follow the path of *pravRtti* (getting engaged in the world, Path 1, Figure 5.1) as they are drawn into the world

[32] *vivekacudAmaNi* verse 154: *deho'yamannabhavano'nnamayastu kozazcAnnena jIvati vinazyati tadvihInaH; tvakcarmamAMsarudhirAsthipurISarAzirnAyaM svayaM bhavitumarhati nityazuddhaH*. "This body is a building of food, is constituted of food material, sustains on food, and dies without it. It is constituted of skin, flesh, blood, skeleton or bones, and feces. Therefore, it cannot be the *atman*, which is eternally pure and self-existent."

[33] *vivekacudAmaNi* verse 293: *SarvAtmanA dRzyamidaM mRSaiva naivAhamarthaH kSaNikatvadarzant; janAmyahaM sarvamiti pratItiH kuto'hamAdeH kSaNikasya sidhyet*. Whatever is seen here is unreal, and so is the ego that is momentary. "I know everything" is a perception that cannot be true because our existence is momentary. In verse 272, the world is referred to as a prison – *saMsArkArAgRhamokSamicchorayomayam pAdanibandhazRnkhalaM; vadanti tajjnAH patu vAsanAtryaM yo'smAdvimuktaH samupaiti muktim*. The wise consider the three desires (related to the body, the world, and the scriptures) as iron fetters that keep those who aspire for liberation tied in the prison of the world. One who is free of these desires finds liberation.

[34] Aphorism 2.17: *draSTRdRzyayoH saMyogo heyahetuH*. In aphorism 2.11 (*dhyAnaheyastadvRttayaH*), meditation is stated as the tool to cleanse the desires.

with their cognition and emotion, whereas the *vedAntin* and the yogis follow, what has been referred to as the path of *nivRtti* (controlling the *manas* and its inclination to entangle with the material world, Path 2, Figure 5.1).

Implications for Global Psychology

The ecology with which we interact includes both the physical and cultural environment (Marsella, 1985), or the objective and subjective cultures (Triandis, 1972). Marsella (1985) presented an interactional model of behavior in which the person interacts with both the physical environment and the cultural environment with biological and psychological aspects of his or her self, and this interaction leads to normal or abnormal behaviors that are couched in the interactional space of person and situation. He argued that behavior is never free of context, even though people may show some predisposition to act in a certain way. The model presented here builds on Marsella's interactional model by positioning desire as the mediator of behavior; and since desires do precede both normal and abnormal behaviors, the model enriches Marsella's framework.

Except for the work of Gollowitzer, Bagozzi, and their colleagues, the Western psychological literature is quite sparse on desire. Psychologists have not studied the construct of desire. One plausible explanation lies in the thrust of Western psychologists, particularly the American psychologists, to study only negative psychological constructs, namely, depression, aggression, phobias, absenteeism, and so forth. It is not surprising that the *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology* was the most prestigious journal until more recently. Though desire has been viewed as a negative construct in the Indian literature, it is a part of the very foundation of the capitalist economy as market is driven by individual desires, and more desires, even fanned by greed, are considered a necessity for the market system to work, and even a virtue by most people. Thus, desire might not have drawn the attention of Western psychologists as a valuable construct, and after all people do put their effort in the area that their culture values (Bhawuk, 2003a).

The closest construct in the mainstream psychology would be "drive" in motivation literature or motivation in general. Interestingly, desire is something that can be easily measured by simply asking people to fill in 20 sentences starting with "I want ______." Similarly, we can also ask people what they aspire for (I aspire … or One of my aspirations is …) to capture their desires. We can use the antecedents and consequents method (Triandis, 1972) to map other constructs and emotions that are related to desire. We can also study desire by using qualitative research methods. For example, we can ask people to think about what they do when they desire something (When you desire something, what do you do?), and by asking them to narrate stories about their desires (Tell us a story about when you got a desire, and how? When you knew what you desired, what did you do? What happened in the immediate future? In the long term?). The strength of desires can be measured by asking people to prioritize their desires or wants, and this may also provide some

insights on what has been studied as achievement motivation (McClelland, 1961). Desire can also offer much to the burgeoning field of positive psychology, spirituality in the workplace, and management of work and personal stress.

There has been some interest in desire from researchers who study AIDS (Lucey, 1996; Mischewski, 1996). These researchers have noted that the construct of desire has been rather marginalized in psychological research. They argued in the context of sexual behavior that being aware about safe sex or having the knowledge of the risks involved in unsafe sex is not enough. People get overpowered by the desire for sex, which trumps consideration of risks and sometimes results in the contraction of AIDS. Though Mischewski (1996) only questioned the primacy of rationality in sexual behavior, it could be argued that desire clouds rational thinking in other domains of behavior also, which is what the *bhagavadgItA* clearly states – desire clouds all *jnAna* or knowledge (see footnote 5).

Desire is an important construct because it captures both emotion and cognition. It can add value to many of the current research streams in organizational psychology and management. For example, there is much research on goal setting, but the way the literature has evolved (Locke, 1986), it is made to be a cognitive construct, as if no emotion is involved in setting goals. Students are taught about SMART goals or objectives, that they should set "Specific," "Measurable," "Achievable," "Realistic," and "Time-bound" goals because goals with such characteristics are self-motivating. Interestingly, emotion is nowhere to be found in this schema of goals. It is apparent that desire is the antecedent of all goal-setting processes, but instead of studying its role in goal setting, we study other less directly related constructs and processes like what motivates the goal-setting process or who is motivated to set goals. A shift toward research on desire is likely to allow us to understand why people set the goals they set, why they invest the time and effort that they do, and may even help us understand how leaders and managers help subordinates visualize and realize their desires, thus also enriching the leadership literature.

Building on the work of Gollowitzer and colleagues (Gollowitzer, Heckhausen, & Steller, 1990), in the context of Fishbein's theory of reasoned action (Fishbein & Ajzen, 1975), Bagozzi (1992) proposed that desires provide the missing motivational link between behavioral intentions and its antecedents – attitudes and subjective norms. Bagozzi and colleagues have contributed to the enrichment of the theory of reasoned action and the more recent adaptation of this theory, the theory of planned behavior (Ajzen, 1991). By interjecting desires as the antecedent of behavioral intentions, it was shown that the new model of goal-directed behavior explained significantly more variance compared to the theory of reasoned action or the theory of planned behavior (Perugini & Bagozzi, 2001).

These researchers (Perugini & Bagozzi, 2001) also proposed the addition of anticipated emotion to attitudes and subjective norms as antecedents of desires to further broaden the theory of planned behavior. However, the relationship between desires and attitudes and anticipated emotions were not consistent across the two studies (Perugini & Bagozzi, 2001), raising doubts about these variables being predictable antecedents of desires; whereas subjective norms were consistently found in the two studies to be antecedents of desires. The work of these researchers

has clearly made desires a critical variable in the study of planned behaviors, but also limits the use of desires to a great extent by boxing it as the antecedent of behavioral intent. The process model of how desires are formed and how they are related to cognition and emotion presented in this chapter offers a much broader and deeper role to desires as a psychological construct and may help us go beyond the Western perspectives of what desires are and how they operate.

The skeptics may find the idea of *sthitaprajna* far-fetched or only relevant for people who are pursuing a spiritual path. However, the Western concept of stoicism is akin to the notion of *sthitaprajna*. We also see a semblance of *sthitaprajna* in the field of sports captured in the spirit of "sportsmanship" where trying your best and playing a good game is more important than winning. Unlike most of us who do not face loss or gain in everyday life, sportspeople face defeat or victory in every game, and it is quite plausible that they develop a defense mechanism to loss by thinking about playing. *Sthitaprajna* generalizes this idea to every walk of life and thus is applicable not only to spiritually inclined people but also to other people. We may have an etic or universal waiting to be explored in this emic construct.

Another universal may be found in the idea that happiness may be related to the shrinking of the social self not only for people with the Indian concept of self (as shown in Figures 4.1–4.3) but also for people from other cultures. It is encouraging to note the recent finding, albeit in its nascent stage, which cautions that money and happiness should not be equated, and that materialistic goals may cause paranoia and dissatisfaction with life in general rather than giving happiness (Tricks, 2005). There is some evidence that spending money on experiences that put people closer to nature and themselves, like scuba diving, trekking in the wilderness, and so forth, is more satisfying than buying material possessions like a Ferrari. Though researchers think the explanation lies in the uniqueness of the experience contrasted to the material goods that anybody can buy,[35] it is plausible that such experience in nature (see the fascinating work of Milton on nature loving and its emotional implications, 2005) allows us to reflect and connect with our own self, and thus we start the internal journey, whereas the purchase of the material goods leads to further expansion of our social self, which is a source of unhappiness in the end.

The model presented in this chapter is clearly grounded in the socially constructed worldview of India and is necessarily an indigenous or a culture specific (or *emic*) model. The chapter raises some questions and suggests the value of studying desires, which has been neglected in the mainstream psychology and organizational literature as well as in cross-cultural research. Clearly, this is only the beginning and much more research is needed to examine the significance of the model for global psychology.

---

[35] For this research to make the front page of *The Financial Times* is quite significant in itself. The article is based on the work of Dresdner Kleinwort Wasserstrin, which was quoted by James Montier, DrKW global equity strategist.

Chapter 7
A General Model of Peace and Happiness

The increasing general stress level in both the industrialized and developing worlds has made personal harmony and peace a survival issue for the global community. To serve this need, models of how personal harmony can be achieved are derived from the *bhagavadgItA*. It is hoped that insights provided by these models would serve practitioners and clinicians and also stimulate research for further examination of their relevance to universal psychology.

There are many models of happiness presented in the *bhagavadgItA*; sometimes happiness is implied, and at other times it is directly the subject of *kRSNa's* sermon to *arjuna*. *arjuna* never directly asks about how to be happy. However, as the dialogue starts with *arjuna* being extremely unnerved and distressed about facing his relatives in the battlefield, and since he engages in the battle wholeheartedly at the end of the sermon, it is reasonable to expect some guidance in the *bhagavadgItA* about how one can deal with stressful situations and be happy. In this chapter, the content of the *bhagavadgItA* is analyzed looking for terms associated with peace and happiness. The term peace appears in Canto 2, 4, 5, 6, 9, and 18. A closer examination revealed that peace appears in a context in each of these chapters and each of these contexts emerged as a unique path that can be pursued in search of happiness. When these paths are examined, it becomes transparent that they are all about leading a spiritual life. The *bhagavadgItA* is categorical about happiness being in the domain of spirituality rather than in the material world. Often, enjoyment is stated to lead to unhappiness (verses 2.56, 4.10, 5.22, 5.28, and 8.11) and even called the portal to hell (verse 16.21). Following this content analysis, relationship between peace, happiness, and contentment is examined. Finally, the ideas are synthesized in a general model of peace and harmony.

Peace and Happiness in the *bhagavadgItA*

Concepts related to peace and happiness appear many times in the *bhagavadgItA* showing the importance of these constructs in the Indian worldview. The term *zAntiM* (2.70, 2.71, 4.39, 5.12, 5.29, 6.15, 6.23, 9.31, and 18.62), *zAntiH* (2.66, 12.12,

D.P.S. Bhawuk, *Spirituality and Indian Psychology*, International and Cultural Psychology,
DOI 10.1007/978-1-4419-8110-3_7,

and 16.2), or *zAntaH* (18.53) or its synonym *zarma* (11.25), *zamaH* (6.3, 10.4, 18.42), and *zamaM* (11.24) are often used. An examination of the contexts in which these terms are used and a discussion of the meaning of these terms in these contexts show that there are four paths to peace. These are discussed below.

kAmasaMkalpavivarjana or the Path of Shedding Desires

In verse 2.70,[1] the simile of ocean is used to map the notion of peace by stating that as water flowing into an ocean from many tributaries does not disturb the ocean, similarly when desires enter a person he or she is not perturbed by them; such a person attains peace, not a person who is habitually chasing desires. This verse needs to be examined in the context of the preceding 15 verses (from 2.55 to 2.69), since the verse refers to a special person that is referred to as *sthitaprajna* (literally, *sthita* means standing or firm, and *prajna* means judgment or wisdom; thus meaning one who has calm discriminating judgment and wisdom). In verses 2.55–2.61, the concept of *sthitaprajna* is introduced, and then in the later verses, the ideas are further elaborated upon. In verse 2.55,[2] it is stated that when a person gives up all desires that are in his or her *manas* or mind and remains contented internally by himself or herself, then the person is said to be *sthitaprajna*. *Adi zankara* explains this in his commentary as the state in which a person has given up the three desires of family, wealth, and fame[3] and remains in the service of people at large without any expectation. In verse 2.56,[4] such a person is described as one whose *manas* neither gets agitated when encountering sorrow nor enjoys or seeks pleasure associated with the senses; one who is beyond emotions such as attachment, fear, and anger; or one for whom these emotions are completely destroyed. In verse 2.57,[5] such a person is described as one who is without affection or attachment in all situations and with all people; and one who neither gets delighted when facing positive outcomes nor is frustrated or annoyed when the outcomes are otherwise.

In verse 2.58,[6] using the simile of a tortoise, it is said that such a person withdraws all the senses from their dwellings just as a tortoise withdraws its limbs under the

---

[1] Verse 2.70: *ApUryamANamacalapratiSthaM samudramApaH pravizanti yadvat*; *tadvatkAmA yaM pravizanti sarve ZAntimApnoti na kAmakAmi.*

[2] Verse 2.55: *prajahAti yada kAmAnsarvAnpArtha manogatAn*; *AtmnyevAtmanA tuStaH sthitaprjnastadocyate.*

[3] *tyktaputravittalokaiSaNaH sannyAsI AtmArAMa AtmakrIDaH sthitaprjna ityarthaH.*

[4] Verse 56: *duHkheSvanudvignamanAH sukheSu vigataspriha H*; *vItarAgabhayakrodhaH sthitadhIrmunirucyate.*

[5] Verse 2.57: *yaH sarvatAnabhisnehastattatprApya zubhAzubham*; *nAbhinandati na dveSti tasya prjna prathiSthita.*

[6] Verse 2.58: *yadA saMharate cAyaM kUrmo'GgAnIva sarvaZaH*; *indRyANIndRyArthebhyastasya prajnA pratiSThitA.*

shell to protect itself. In verse 2.59,[7] such a person is compared to one who controls his or her senses through austerity. Though people can withdraw their senses from the sense objects, the attachment to these objects persists. However, having realized *brahman*, the person with stable discriminating wisdom not only withdraws the senses from their objects but does not have any trace of attachment for the same. In verse 2.60,[8] the senses are said to be so powerful that they forcibly kidnap the *manas* of even wise people who are trying to tame the senses and applies them to the sense objects. In verse 2.61,[9] the *sthitaprajna* person is said to be one who has his or her senses under complete control and who dwells on *brahman* with the senses under control.

In the next two verses, a process model of how desires are created and how they lead to destruction is captured. Verse 2.62[10] was used in Chapter 6 to develop a model showing how thinking about something generates attachment toward that object or idea, and attachment leads to desire, which leads to anger or greed (see Figure 6.1). In verse 2.63,[11] it is stated that anger leads to clouding of discretion about what is right or wrong, which leads to loss of memory or what one has learned in the past. This leads to loss of *buddhi* or wisdom, and it ultimately leads one to his or her destruction. In contrast, in verse 2.64,[12] it is stated that the person who has the senses under his or her control neither gets attached to pleasant outcomes nor gets frustrated with negative outcomes, and thus interacting with the environment by managing desires finds joy (i.e., *prasad*), which according to *Adi zankara* is happiness and health. When one finds joy, all the sorrows are destroyed, and the person's *buddhi* finds equanimity (verse 2.65[13]). In verse 2.66,[14] the person *without* such a *buddhi* is said to be without the love for spirituality or motivation to strive for self-realization, and such a person is said to be without peace. It is further stated that one without peace cannot be happy. This is the first time that the word *zAntiH* or peace and

---

[7] Verse 2.59: *viSayA vinivartante nirAhArasya dehinaH*; *rasavarjaM raso'pyasya paraM dRStvA nivartate.*

[8] Verse 2.60: *yatato hyapi kaunteya puruSasya vipazcitaH*; *indRyANi pramAthIni haranti prasabhaM manaH.*

[9] Verse 2.61: *tAni sarvAN saMya yukta Asita matparaH*; *vaze hi yasyendRyANi tasya prajnA pratiStThita.*

[10] Verse 2.62: *dhyAyato viSayAnpuMsaH sangasteSUpajAyate*; *saGgAtsaJjAyate kAmaH kAmAtkrodho'bhijAyate.*

[11] Verse 2.63: *krodhAdbhavati sammohaH sammohAtsmRitivibhramaH*; *smRtibhraMzAd buddhinazo buddhinAzAtpraNazyati.*

[12] Verse 2.64: *rAgadveSaviyuktaistu viSayAnindRyaizcaran*; *AtmavazyairvidheyAtmA prasAdamadhigacchti.*

[13] Verse 2.65: *prasade sarva duHkhAnAm hAnirasyopajAyate*; *prasannceteso hyAzu buddhiH paryavatiSThate.*

[14] Verse 2.66: *nAsti buddhirayuktasya n cAyuktasya bhAvanA*; *na cAbhAvayataH zAntirazAntasya kutaH sukham.*

sukhaM[15] or happiness appear in the *bhagavadgItA*, and in this verse the relationship between them is categorically stated – only those who have a balanced *buddhi* will be at peace and thus be happy.

In verse 2.67,[16] another simile, that of a boat, is used to show the power of the senses. Just like a boat gets captured by wind, the *manas*, which follows the senses wherever they go, seizes the *buddhi* (or the ability to reason) of the person. In verse 2.68, the person who is able to completely control the senses wherever they go is said to be *sthitaprajna*. In verse 2.68,[17] the person with *sthitaprajna* is said to be completely opposite of regular people – when it is night for common people, this person keeps awake; and when common people are awake, that is night for this person. An interpretation of this verse is that wakefulness is associated with being involved in some activity, whereas sleep is about being inactive. Therefore, whatever attracts one is like day because one is going to pursue that, and what does not interest one is like night, because one is not going to pursue it. Common people are attracted toward material life and activities, and so they constitute day for them, but for the aspirants of spirituality (*mumukSa*) or those who are advanced (*sthitaprajna* or *yogArUDha*) people that would be night. On the other hand, spiritually inclined people are attracted toward spiritual life and the activities that are a part of their practice (or *sAdhanA*), which often does not appeal to common people (Swami Narayan, cited in Varma, 1975). Gandhi (2002) explained verse 2.69[18] beautifully by giving the example of how a person leading a material life enjoys late night parties and sleeps until late in the morning, whereas a person on a spiritual path goes to bed early and gets up in the wee hours of the morning to do his or her practice (or *sAdhanA*). Thus, we can see that the verse can be interpreted even literally – when a common person is awake, an aspirant is sleeping and when the common person is sleeping, the aspirant is awake.

In the context provided by the 15 verses preceding verse 2.70, we can appreciate the meaning of peace and happiness in their fullest depth. Peace is presented as the highest desideratum of human endeavor and can only be achieved by completely controlling the senses and achieving balance in the positive and negative outcomes of all human efforts and activities, thus becoming free of all desires, which is referred to as *kAmasaMkalpavivarjana*. Peace does not lie in fulfilling desires or enjoying the goodies of the material world, and in fact it is said to be a source of misery as was shown in the models in Chapter 6. Happiness is presented as the

---

[15] The word *sukha* first appeared in verse 2.38 as *sukhaduHkha*, which means happiness or sorrow – *sukhaduHkhe same kritva lAbhAlAbhau jayAjyau*; *tato yuddhAya yjyasva naivaM pApamavApsyasi.* You should engage in the battle by considering happiness and sorrow, gain and loss, and victory and defeat the same, and by doing so you will not earn demerit or sin.

[16] Verse 2.67: *indRiyANAM hi caratAM yanmano'nuvidhIyate*; *tadasya harati prajnAM vAyurnAvamivAmbhasi.*

[17] Verse 2.68: *tasmAdyasya mahAbAho nigRhItAni sarvazaH*; *indRyANIndRyArthebhyastasya prajnA pratiSThita.*

[18] Verse 2.69: *yA nizA sarvabhutAnAM tasyAM jAgarti saMyamI*; *yasyA jAgrati bhUtAni sA nizA pazyato muneH.*

consequent of peace, and just like a person pursuing desires is said to never achieve peace (verse 2.70), a person who is not at peace is said to be ever unhappy. Thus, the first path to peace presented in the *bhagavadgItA* is captured in the term *kAmasaMkalpavivarjana* or shedding desires, which is the prerequisite of happiness.

In verse 2.71, it is further clarified that the person who gives up all desires (*kAma*) and leads a life without greed (*lobha* and *spriha*[19] in the verse), attachment (*moha*), and egotism (*ahaMkAra*) is the one who attains peace. It could be argued that giving up these four leads to an absence of anger or *krodha*, thus, leading the person to peace. Thus, in the Indian worldview, *kAma*, *krodh*, *lobha*, *moha*, and *ahaMkAra* are viewed as the five destabilizing forces[20] that lead to personal disharmony or absence of peace, which is succinctly captured in this verse (see Figure 7.1). Further, in the 16th Canto verse 16.21,[21] *kAmaH*, *krodhaH*, and *lobhaH* are said to be the portals to hell that leads to the destruction of the self, and we are encouraged to give them up.

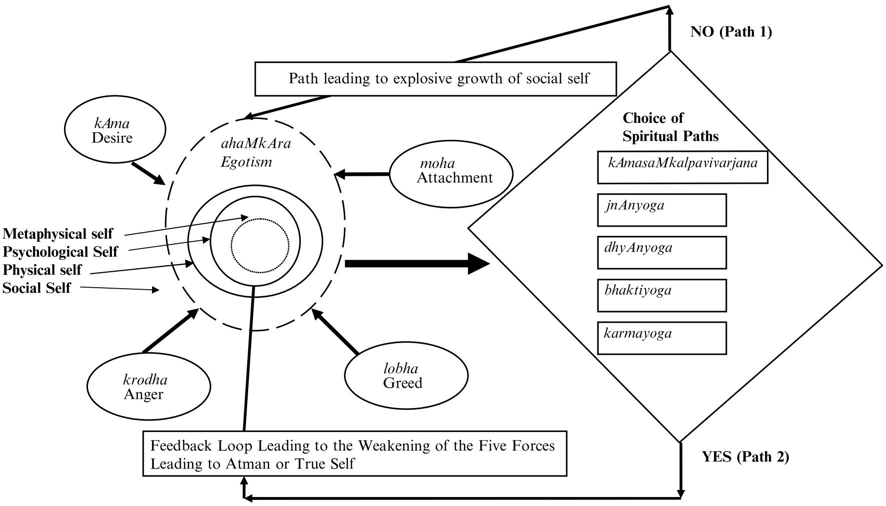


Figure 7.1 Multiple paths of happiness

[19] Verse 2.71: *vihAya kAmAnyaH sarvAn pumAMzscarati niHsprihaH*; *nirmamo nirhankAraH sa zantimadhigachhati*. A person who gives up all of his or her desires, and lives without greed (i.e., hankering for anything), without attachment, and without egotism, he or she attains peace. In the verse, the word nihspriha is used, which means without spriha (from the root sprihayati) or without desire. Since *kAman* means desires, I am contextualizing *niHspriha* to mean *lobh* or greed. Since this is the only verse in the *bhagavadgItA* that describes the five-force model, I hope this contextualization is not out of order.

[20] There is another construct, *matsara* or jealousy, which is considered the sixth destabilizing force often mentioned in the scriptures and discussed by spiritual teachers. However, this concept is not mentioned even once in the *bhagavadgItA*. Hence, it is not discussed here or elsewhere in the book.

[21] Verse 16.21: *trividhaM narkasyedaM dvAraM nAzanamAtmanaH*; *kAmaH krodhastathalobhastasmadetattrayaM tyajet.*

In the next verse (16.22[22]), these three are also labeled as the portals of *tamoguNa*, and those who give them up are able to start activities that help them achieve the ultimate state of perfection. This stresses the need to get rid of these three vices, and we saw in Chapter 6 that it all starts with desire – positive outcomes lead to greed and negative outcomes lead to anger. And in Chapter 5, we saw that multiple iteration of activities that lead to the pursuant of desires captured by Path 1causes the strengthening of *moha* (or attachment) and *ahaMkAra* (or ego). Thus, the way to start the journey to peace clearly begins with managing these five forces.

It is clear that the beginning of the process of personal peace and happiness starts with the management of desires and lies in surrendering desires instead of pampering them and pursuing them vigorously, which has been labeled the path of *kAmasaMkalpavivarjana*. However, this can be done following many other spiritual paths. The highest level of peace is achieved by completely giving up the material identity and its related behaviors and identifying oneself with the *Atman* first and then with *brahman* as shown in the schematic in Figure 7.1. The four other paths of *jnAnayoga*, *karmayoga*, *dhyAnayoga*, and *bhaktiyoga* are discussed in what follows by further examining the presentation of the word *zAntim* in the *bhagavadgItA*.

jnAnyoga or the Path of Knowledge

In verse 4.39,[23] this same highest level of *zAntiM* or peace is referred to but this time it is said to be achieved immediately by the person who has *zraddha* or reverence (reveres the *guru* or teacher and *zAstra* or spiritual texts), who is incessantly pursuing knowledge, and has control over the knowledge and action faculty, since such a person finds *jnAn* or knowledge. Thus, *jnAn* is presented as a path for achieving the ultimate peace. In verse 4.40,[24] people who have neither faith nor the knowledge of the *Atman* and have doubt (or *saMzaya*, which is a consequence of lack of *zraddha*) in their mind are said to perish. People who have doubt in their heart, mind, and soul miss out both in the material world and the spiritual world and do not get happiness. In verse 4.41,[25] one who has dispelled doubt by cultivating *jnAn* or knowledge of *Atman*, and has given up *karma* through *yoga*, such an internally self-centered person is said to be free of *karmic* bondage. *JnAn* is the tool to dissolve doubt, and this is further stressed in verse 4.42,[26] when *kRSNa* asks *arjuna* to use the metaphorical

[22] Verse 16.22: *atairvimuktaH kaunteya tamodvAraistribhirnaraH*; *AcartyAtmanaH zreyastato yAti parAM gatim.*

[23] Verse 4.39: *zraddhAvAllabhate jnAnaM tatparaH saMyatendRyaH*; *jnAnaM labdhvA parAM zAntimacireNAdhigacchati.*

[24] Verse 4.40: *ajnazcAzraddhAnazca saMzayAtmA vinazyati*; *nAyaM loko'sti na paro na sukhaM samzayAtmanaH.*

[25] Verse 4.41: *yogasannyastakarmANaM jnAsJchinnasaMayam*; *AtmavantaaM na karmANi nibadhnanti dhananjaya.*

[26] Verse 4.42: *tasmAdajnAnasambhUtaM hRtsthaM jnAnAsinAtmanaH*; *chitvainaM saMzayaM yogamAtiZThottiSTha bhArata.*

sword of *jnAn* to destroy the doubt that is harbored in the heart and arises from *ajnAn* or ignorance, which is not knowing that *Atman* is a part of *brahman* and it is our true self. In the verses in the second Canto (2.70 and 2.71) as well as the verses in the fourth Canto (4. 39 and 4.40), *zAntiM* refers to the highest level of peace, which is akin to *mokSa* according to *Adi zankara* commentary on the *bhagavadgItA*.

In verse 5.29,[27] a person is said to achieve peace by knowing *brahman* as the lord of the universe, agent or doer of all activities, enjoyer of all *yajna* and austerities, and a friend of all being. This verse should be looked into the context of the previous 12 verses (5.16 to 5.28) and as the culmination of the path of *jnAn*. In other words, it describes how a *jnAnyogi* achieves peace. In verse 5.16,[28] *jnAn* is defined as that knowledge which clears up all bewilderment and attachment to material objects, and just like the sun makes everything visible, that knowledge makes everything that is worth knowing known. When a person achieves such knowledge, his or her *buddhi* or intellect is drawn to *brahman*, his or her *Atman* is in unison with *brahman*, he or she is situated in *brahman*, and has taken complete shelter in *brahman*; such a person achieves a stage from where they do not have to return to the material world and all their sins are destroyed by such knowledge (verse 5.17[29]). When one achieves such *jnAn*, one acquires a balanced perspective in which all beings – a gentle Brahmin with education, a cow, an elephant, a dog, and an untouchable – are the same since *brahman* permeates all of them (verse 5.18[30]). Such a knowledgeable person whose *manas* or *antaHkaraNa* is situated in equanimity conquers birth and death in this life itself, because he or she is situated in *brahman*, which is equanimity manifested (verse 5.19[31]).

The *jnAnyogi* is further described as one who neither delights in achieving what is pleasant nor does he or she get upset when coming across what is unpleasant. Such a person has a stable *buddhi* or intellect and is not bewildered by material objects, knows *brahman*, and is situated in *brahman* (Verse 5.20[32]). Such a person is not attached to the pleasures that come from outside through the senses and enjoys the happiness that is internal. Such a person is situated in *brahman* and enjoys happiness that is infinite (Verse 5.21[33]). The wise do not rejoice in the things that have a beginning and an end because all pleasures that come from contact with

---

[27] Verse 5.29: *bhoktAraM yajnatapasAM sarvalokamahezvaram*; *suhRdaM sarvabhutAnAM jnAtvA mAM zantimRcchati.*

[28] Verse 5.16: *jnAnena tu tadjnAnaM yeSAM nAzitamAtmanaH*; *teSAmAdityavajjnAnaM prakAzayati tatparam.*

[29] Verse 5.17: *tadbuddhayastadAtmAnastanniSThAstatparAyaNAH*;*gacchantyapunarAvRttiM jnAnanirdhUtakalmaSAH.*

[30] Verse 5.18: *vidyAvinayasampanne brahmaNe gavi hastini*; *zuni caiva zvapAke ca panditAH samadarzinaH.*

[31] Verse 5.19: *ihaiva tairjitaH sargo yeSAM sAmyesthitaM manaH*; *nirdoSaM hi samaM brahman tasmAdbrahmaNi te sthitAH.*

[32] Verse 5.20: *na prahRSyetpRyaM prApya nodvijetprApya cApriyam*; *sthirbuddhirasammUDho brahmavidbrahmaNi sthitaH.*

[33] Verse 5.21: *bAhyasparzeSvasaktAtmA vindatyAtmani yatsukham*; *sa brahmayogayuktAtmA sukhamakSayamaznute.*

the senses are cause of unhappiness or sorrow (Verse 5.22[34]). Only the person who is able to control the force of desire and anger until death is a yogi, is happy, and achieves *mokSa* or *brahmanirvANa* both in this life and when he or she leaves the body (Verse 5.23[35] and 5.26[36]). A yogi maintains a steady breath (balance between *prANa* and *apAn*) and does not internalize the signals arising from external contact (Verse 5.27[37]). Such a person has his or her organs, *manas*, and *buddhi* (or intellect) under control, has no desire, anger, or fear, and desires only *mokSa* or freedom from the birth and death cycle (Verse 5.28[38]). Such a person is at peace. Thus, we can see that the *bhagavadgItA* is only interested in the ultimate happiness, which comes as *nirvana* or *mokSa*, and it is available to a *jnAnyogi* but not to people who pursue fruits of their endeavor following Path 1 (see Figure 7.1 and Figure 5.1).

karmayoga or the Path of Work

In verse 5.12,[39] the yogi (or *yuktaH*) is said to achieve enduring, abiding, or permanent (or *naiSThikIM*) peace by giving up the fruits of his or her work, whereas the person who is not committed to *nizkAma karma* performs his or her work with the desire for its fruits and gets bound, i.e., does not achieve peace. This verse should be looked into the context of the previous 11 verses in which *kRSNa* tells *arjuna* that there is no difference in the outcome of the two paths of *karmayoga* and *jnAnyoga* and that they both lead to the same outcome, i.e., permanent peace. The path of *jnAnyoga* is considered to be difficult to follow without mastery in the path of *karmayoga* (verse 5.6[40]), and the person who masters *karmayoga* (*yogayuktaH*) is said to achieve *brahman* quite soon. It should be noted that this implies that one has to first practice *karmayoga* or *niSkAmakarma*, which would prepare one for the path of *jnAnyoga* that comes later (see Figure 5.2). We will return to this at the end of the chapter.

---

[34] Verse 5.22: *ye hi saMsparjA bhogA duHkhayonaya eva te*; *Adyantavanta kaunteya na teSu ramate budhaH.*

[35] Verse 5.23:.*zaknotIhaiva yaH soDhuM prAzarIravimokSaNAt*; *kAmakrodhodbhavaM vegaM sa yuktaH sa sukhi NaraH.* Verse 5.24: *yo'ntaHsukho'ntarArAmastathAntarjyotireva yaH*; *sa yogi brahmanirvANaM brahmabhUto'dhigacchati.* Verse 5.25: *labhante brahmanirvANamRSayaH kSINakalmaSAH*; *chinnadvaidhA yatAtmAnaH sarvabhUtahite ratAH.*

[36] Verse 5.26: *kAmakrodhaviyuktAnAM yatInAM yatacetasAm*; *abhito brahmanirvANaM vartate viditAtmanAm.*

[37] Verse 5.27: *sparzAnkRtvA bahirbAhyAMzcakSuzcaivAntare bhruvoH*; *prANApAnau samau kRtvA nAsAbhyantaracAriNau.*

[38] Verse 5.28: *yatendRyamanobuddhirmunirmokSaparAyaNaH*; *vigatecchAbhayakrodho yaH sadA mukta eva saH.*

[39] Verse 5.12: *yuktaH karmaphalaM tyaktvA zAntimapnoti naiSThikIm*; *ayuktaH kAmakAreNa phale sakto nibadhyate.*

[40] Verse 5.6: *sannyAstumahAbAho duHkhamaptumayogataH*; *yogayukto munirbrahman na cireNAdhigacchati.*

The *karmayogi* (or person who is *yogayuktaH*) with pure *antaHkaraNa* (or *vizuddhAtmA*), one who has conquered the body (or *vijitAtmA*) and the senses and sees the *Atman* in all beings, does not get entangled despite doing all work.[41] Such a person is further described as one who knows that he or she does not do any activity, not even activities like seeing, listening, touching, smelling, eating, walking, sleeping, breathing, talking, excreting, receiving, and blinking.[42] In verse 5.10, the person is further described as one who performs his or her duties without attachment and as if it is the work of *brahman*. Using the simile of a lotus flower in a lake, it is said that such a person does not get entangled with demerit or sin just like lotus leaves do not get affected by water. A *karmayogi* does all work by giving up all attachment with sense organs (or body), *manas*, and *buddhi* to purify his or her inner self or *antaH-karaNa*.[43] Thus, work done with the philosophy of *niSkAmakarma* becomes the purifier of the self, rather than the means of sense enjoyment or worldly achievements. Since *niSkAmakarma* is marked by Path 2, and *sakAmakarma* by Path 1 (see Figure 5.1; also captured in Figure 7.1), Path 2, and not Path 1, is the road to happiness.

dhyAnyoga or the Path of Meditation

In verse 6.15,[44] a person who follows the path of *dhyAnyoga* is said to achieve peace. The *dhyAnyogi* who has controlled his *manas* (*niyatmAnasaH*) practices *dhyAnyoga* (as noted in verses 6.11 to 6.14) by constantly focusing on *Atman* and achieves peace that is *nirvaNa* of the highest level (*nirvANaparamAM*). This yogi achieves the highest level of peace that exists in *brahman*. Peace referred to here is not of the garden variety of peace, but the one that is of the highest order and is spiritual in nature. Such peace is achieved by transcending the material world and situating oneself in *brahman*. Again, this verse too needs to be examined in the context of the earlier verses (verses 6.3–6.14). In verse 6.3,[45] the novice (*ArurukSoH*) and the expert (*yogArUDha*) are described – novice has to go through *karma* and practice *niSkAma karma* or *karmayoga*, whereas the expert has to go beyond *karmayoga* and practice cessation (*zamaH*[46]) of all activities. The expert or

---

[41] Verse 5.7: *yogayukto vizuddhAtmA vijitAtmA jitendriyaH*; *sarvabhUtAtmAbhUtatmA kurvan-napi na lipyate.*

[42] Verse 5.8 and 5.9: *naiva kincitkaromIti yukto manyate tatvavit*; *pazyaJzriNvansprizaJjighran-naznangachansvapaJzvasan. pralapanvisrijangrihNannunmiSannimiSannapi*; *indriyaNIndri-yartheSu vartanta iti dharayan.*

[43] Verse 5.11: *kAyena manasA buddhayA kevalairindRyairapi*; *yoginaH karma kurvanti saGgaM tyaktvAtmazuddhaye.*

[44] Verse 6.15:.*yuJjannevaM sadAtmAnaM yogi niyatmAnasaH*; *zAntiM nirvANaparamAM matsaMsthAmadhigacchati.*

[45] Verse 6.3: *ArurukSormuneryogaM karma karaNamucyate*; *yogArUDhasya tasyaiva zamaH kAraNamucyate*.

[46] Shankaracarya defines *zamaH* as *upazamaH sarvakarmebhyo nivrittiH*, i.e., freedom from all *karma* or activities, in his commentary on the *bhagavadgItA*.

yogArUDha is further described to be at the stage where one does not get attached to either the activities associated with the body or with any other *karma* (the person does not see an agentic purpose for himself or herself in doing any of the *nitya* or daily activities, *naimittika* or occasional activities, *kAmya* or activities leading to some desired outcomes, and *niSiddha* or prohibited activities), and one gives up all purpose as they arise in the mind.

Reflecting on the life of Ramakrishna (see Chapter 2), one can notice that advanced saints do not work toward any goals; they simply live and advice aspirants about how to make progress on their spiritual journey. They take a social role, as Ramakrishna took the role of the priest of the *kAlI* temple of *dakSiNesvar*, but they are not after a comfortable life, or increasing their following. Perhaps it is accurate to say that Vivekananda, despite being an extraordinary person, was not that advanced spiritually when he was establishing the Ramakrishna Mission to serve people. It is known that toward the end of his life, he was in Kashmir at a *devi* (Goddess) temple that was demolished by the Muslims many years ago, and he thought he would have given his life to defend the temple had he been there at that time. "Do you protect me or I protect you?" asked the *devi*. And he was pacified. But then again another desire emerged in his *manas*, "I will construct a big temple here to honor Mother Goddess." "Would I not have already built a temple if I so desired?" asked the *devi*. And that experience led him to withdraw completely from the mission much to the consternation of his disciples. Thus, a *yogArUDha* person simply lives and does not pursue even pious activities. They simply serve people around them and do not ever take any advantage of them.

In verses 6.5[47] and 6.6,[48] we are said to be our own friend or enemy: friend if we strive for *yogArUDha* stage and enemy if we veer away from that path; friend if we conquer our senses and enemy if we become their slaves. In verses 6.7[49] to 6.9, the characteristics of the person who has achieved such a *yogArUDha* stage is described: he or she has conquered the self, is calm, is situated in *brahman* consciousness, and is in equanimity in heat or cold, pleasure or pain, and praise or insult. He or she is contented with knowledge, has conquered the sense organs, and views earth, rock, and gold as the same. A person in this stage maintains equanimity when interacting with all kinds of people: Good or evil, self-less or altruistic person, friend or enemy, one who does not take sides or is neutral, one who wishes well to both parties who are opposed to each other, and one who is dear or not dear.

---

47 Verse 6.5: *uddharaedAtmanAtmAnaM nAtmAnamavasAdayet*; *Atmaiva hyAtmano bandhuratmaiva ripurAtmanaH.*

48 Verse 6.6: *bandhurAtmAtmanastasya yenAtmaivAtmanA jitaH*; *anAtmanastu zatrutve vartetatmaiva zatruvat.*

49 Verse 6.7 to 6.9: *jitAtmanaH prazAntasya paramAtmA samAhitaH*; *zItoSNasukhaduHkheSu tathA mAnApamAnayoH* (6.7). *jnAnavijnAnatRptAtmA kUtastho vijitendRyaH*; *yukta ityucyate yogi samaloSTAzmakAJcanaH* (6.8). *suhRnmitrAryudAsInamadhyasthadveSyabandhuSu*; *sAdhuSvapi ca pApeSu samabuddhirviziSyate* (6.9).

In verses 6.10–6.14,[50] instructions for the practice of *dhyAnayoga* are provided. A *dhyAnyogi* should remain connected with his *Atman* constantly by remaining in solitude, without any desires or expectation, and by giving up all material possessions. He or she should practice meditation in a clean place, on a seat made of layers of *kuza* grass, deer skin, and cloth, which is neither too high nor too low. He or she should try to focus his or her mind and conquer his senses to purify his or her self or *antaHkaraNa*. He or she should keep his body, neck, and head upright and steady and focus his or her mind on the tip of the nose without looking in any other direction. He or she should sit with a deeply quiet *antaHkaraNa*, without fear or worries, following the conduct of a *brahmacAri*, controlling the *manas*, placing the *citta* in *brahman*, and visualizing the supremacy of *brahman*. And then comes verse 6.15 stating that such a *dhyAnyogi* achieves the highest level of peace. Just like the other paths of *karmayoga* and *jnAnyoga*, the path of *dhyAnyoga* leads to *nirvaNa*, *mokSa*, or permanent peace.

bhaktiyoga or the Path of Devotion

In verse 9.31,[51] the person who approaches *brahman* with devotion is said to achieve peace. *kRSNa* tells *arjuna* in verse 9.26[52] that when a person with pure *buddhi* (or intellect) offers him (i.e., *kRSNa* or *brahman*[53]) a leaf, a flower, a fruit, or water with devotion, he accepts it. He advises *arjuna* to offer all his activities – the food he eats, the offerings he makes in a *yajna* or spiritual service, the charities he performs, or the austerity he performs – to *brahman*. By doing so he would be able to free himself from the bondage of the merits and demerits of his *karma*. Such offering of all activities to *brahman* is *sannyAs* or renunciation, and performing the activities with such a mindset is *karmayoga*; so by offering all the activities to *brahman* one becomes *sannyAsyogayuktAtmA*, and such a free person merges with *brahman*. Building on the

---

[50] Verses 6.10 to 14: *yogi yuJjIta satatamAtmAnaM rahasi sthitaH*; *ekAkI yatacittAtmA nirAzIraparigrahaH* (6.10). *zucau deze pratiSThapya sthiramAsanamAtmanaH*; *nAtyucchRtaM nAtinIcaM cailAjinakuzottaram* (6.11). *tatraiAgraM manaH kRtvA yatacittendRyakRyaH*; *upavizyAsane yuJjyAdyogamAtmavizuddhye* (6.12). *samaM kAyazrogrIvaM dhArayanncalaM sthiraH*; *samprekSya nAsikAgraM svaM dizazcAnavalokayan* (6.13). *prazAntAtmA vigatabhIrbramcArivrate sthitaH*; *manaH saMyamya maccittO yukta AsIta matparaH* (6.14).

[51] Verse 9.31: *kSipraM bhavati dharmAtmA zazvacchAntiM nigacchati*; *kaunteya pratijAnIhi na me bhaktaH praNazyati*.

[52] Verse 9.26: *patraM puSpaM phalaM toyaM yo me bhaktyA prayacchati*; *tadahaM bhaktyupahRtamaznAmi prayatAtmanaH*.

[53] *brahman* is formless and *kRSNa* is referred to as *saguNa brahman*, or *brahman* in form. *brahman* is used to denote both *saguNa* and *nirguNa brahman* in this book. This is consistent in spirit since *kRSNa* equates every element of a *yajna* to *brahman* in verse 4.24 (*brahmArpaNaM brahman havirbrahmagnau brahNA hutam*; *brahmaiva tena gantavyaM brahmakarmasamAdhinA*.)

characteristics of *bhaktiyoga*, *kRSNa* says in verse 9.29[54] that *brahman* plays no favorites and is situated the same way in all beings; however, *brahman*'s presence is in those who worship *brahman* with devotion. In verse 9.30,[55] *kRSNa* goes on to say that even an evil doer transforms when he or she prays to *brahman* with deep devotion and becomes pure because he or she has the pious resolution. Such an evil doer soon transforms into a righteous person and achieves permanent peace. Thus, the meaning of peace in this verse when examined in the context of the preceding verses as noted above indicates that there is yet another path, the path of *bhaktiyoga*, which also leads to the same outcome – permanent peace, *mokSa*, or *nirvaNa*. This is again reinforced in the last chapter in verse 18.62.[56]

In the concluding chapter of the *bhagavadgItA*, in verse 18.61,[57] *kRSNa* tells *arjuna* that *brahman* is present in the heart of all beings, but *mAyA* or illusion distracts and confounds all beings so that instead of journeying inward (Path 2) they go outward (Path 1) and often in endless vicious circles. And in verse 18.62, *kRSNa* asks *arjuna* to completely take shelter in *brahman* that is in our hearts, for with the pleasure of *brahman* one achieves the highest peace and goes to the pure land of *brahman*. Thus, this verse is also extolling peace as the highest outcome of the path of *bhaktiyoga* or devotion. It is clear from the above that peace is viewed as the final destination of our spiritual journey irrespective of which path we choose. *karmayoga*, *jnAnyoga*, *dhyAnyoga*, and *bhaktiyoga*, all lead to permanent peace that results from realizing that our true self is *Atman* and not the physical or social self (see Figure 7.1). This peace is equated to *mokSa*, *nirvaNa*, and the pure land of *brahman*. Thus, the objective of human life is to strive for this permanent peace, and one can take any one of the four paths described in the *bhagavadgItA* to do so.

Path 2 and Synonyms of Peace and Happiness

Happiness is presented as the synonym of contentment (*santuSTaH*), absence of spite or envy (*adveSTaH*), absence of anger (*akrodhaH*), and absence of violence (*ahiMsA*). Happiness comes only by performing one's duties without pursuing the fruits of the efforts or by devoting oneself completely to *brahman*. Thus, the *bhagavadgItA* suggests that there is no happiness in the material world, and happiness or contentment comes from pursuing the spiritual path, which was discussed in Chapter 5. Thus, we

---

[54] Verse 9.29: *samo'haM sarvabhUteSu na me dveSyo'sti na priyaH*; *ye bhajanti tu mAM bhaktyA mayi te teSu cApyaham.*

[55] Verse 9.30: *api cetsudurAcAro bhajate mAmananyabhAk*; *sAdhureva sa mantvyaH samyagvyavasito hi saH.*

[56] Verse 18.62: *tameva zaraNaM gaccha sarvabhAvena bhArata*; *tatprasAdAtparAM AntiM sthAnaM prApyasi zAzvatam.*

[57] Verse 18.61: *IzvaraH sarvabhUtAnAM hRddeze'rjun tiSThati*; *bhrAmayansarvabhUtAni yantrArUdhAni mAyayA.*

could say that Path 2 discussed in Chapter 5 was the way to be happy, and Path 1 would lead to unhappiness. These two paths are also captured in Figure 7.1.

In the fourth Canto, a person who performs his or her duties without attachment (*niSkAma karma*) is called wise or a pundit, and he or she is characterized in verse 4.20 as one who is always content (*nityatripto*, *nitya* meaning always, and *triptaH* meaning content), and in verse 4.22 as one who is content with whatever gain he or she makes. Other characteristics of a *niSkAma karmayogi* include one who has given up the fruits of his or her endeavor, detached or unattached (*asaGgaM*), one who is not dependent on anybody as having no expectation of anybody (verse 4.20[58]), one who has no expectation in his or her mind or soul (*nirAzIryatcittAtmA*), one who has given up all kinds of accumulation (verse 4.21[59]), one who is beyond the duality of happiness and sorrow, one has no envy or jealousy, one who is balanced in success or failure (verse 4.22[60]), and one who is without attachment, is free, and his or her *citta* or heart and mind is filled with knowledge or *jnAn* (verse 4.23[61]). Though such a *karmayogi* performs all his duties, he or she does not get any merit or demerit from performing them and is not bound by these actions, and since he or she does not have any craving for the fruits of the actions, all actions get dissipated freeing the person completely. Thus, both happiness and peace are correlated to many other attributes, establishing their synonymity.

In the 12th Canto, contentment (or *santuSTaH)* is noted as a characteristic of the devotee that is dear to *kRSNa*. First in verse 12.14, the devotee is described as always content (*santuSTaH satatam*) along with other characteristics as having no rancor against anybody (*adveSTa sarvabhUtAnAM*), a friend of all, compassionate, without possessiveness, without ego, forgiving, and balanced in happiness and sorrow. The person is also described as a yogi, one with strong determination in the (heart and) soul, and one who has offered his or her *manas* and *buddhi* to *brahman*.[62] And at the end of the description of the favorite devotee of *kRSNa* in Canto 12, the devotee is described as content with whatever he or she has along with other attributes like treating praise and insult the same, keeping silence, without a home, and with stable *buddhi*.[63] These attributes could be

---

[58] Verse 4.20: *tyaktvA karmaphalAsaGgaM nityatRpto nirAzryaH*; *karmaNyabhipravRtto'pi naiva kiJcitkaroti saH*.

[59] Verse 4.21: *nirAzIryatacittAtmA tyaktasarvaparigrahaH*; *zArIraM kevalaM karma kurvannApnoti kilbiSam*.

[60] Verse 4.22: *yadRcchAlAbhasantuSto dvandAtIto vimatsaraH*; *samaH siddhAvasiddhau ca iRtvApi na nibadhyate*.

[61] Verse 4.23: *gatasaGgasya muktasya jnAnAvasthitacetasaH*; *yajnAyAcarataH karma samagraM pravilIyate*.

[62] Verse 12.13: *adveSta sarvabhUtAnAM maitraH karuNa eva ca*; *nirmamo nirhankAraH samaduHkhasukhaH kSamI*. Verse 12.14: *santuStaH satatam yogi yatAtmA dridhanizcayaH*; *mayyarpitamanobuddhiryo madbhaktaH sa me priya*.

[63] The term used is *sthirmatiH*, which is translated as "*sthirA parmArthavastuviZayA matiH yasya sa sthiramatiH*" according to Shankaracarya (or one who is stable in the subjects of the world). PrabhupAda (1986) translates it as "fixed determination" or "fixed in knowledge" (p. 632), whereas most other translations refer to it as stable *buddhi*. Edgerton (1944) translates it as "steadfast mind" (p. 64), pointing to the need to stick to manas and buddhi rather than mind in thinking about Indian concept of self.

interpreted as the characteristics of a person who is content with what he or she has: if praised or reprimanded one accepts them; one keeps silent and by doing so accepts whatever is said to him or her; one is content with whatever shelter one has; and one has a stable *buddhi* meaning again that one is accepting of whatever comes his or her way.[64] Thus, contentment is a correlate of qualities that also characterize a *sthitaprajna* or a *yogArUDha* person, and contentment, happiness, and peace all are achieved when we realize and internalizes that our true self is *Atman* and not the body or the social self. This realization is reflected in the equanimity that is demonstrated in daily behavior, and the person not only is at peace but radiates peace to everyone. Again, peace and happiness go hand in hand along with many of these other attributes.

Support for the Model in Other Indian Texts

All the *upaniSads* are in unison in recommending spiritual life for the achievement of ultimate peace and happiness. For example, in the *chAndogyopaniSad*, the concept of happiness is discussed in the seventh Canto in a dialogue between *nArada* (who is the student) and *sanatkumAr* (the teacher). This is an interesting dialogue that starts by *sanatkumAr* telling *nArada* that he would instruct him beyond what he knew, and *nArada* reports that he knew the four *vedas*, the *purANas* (*itihAsprANaM*), grammar (*vedAnAM veda*), and literally all other tomes of knowledge from music to crafts.[65] Thus, it is a dialogue between someone who is very learned but one who concedes that he only has cognitive knowledge of these texts and he was not *Atmavit* or knower of the self who transcends all sorrow. Like the other *upaniSads*, here too the student seeks instruction to be able to transcend sorrow or the material world, clearly establishing the spiritual focus of living in the Indian culture and worldview.

sanatkumAr starts by telling *nArada* that all the *vedas* and the other scriptures were personification of *brahman*, and in that sense they were simply objectification of *brahman*, i.e., name or *nAma*. He asks *nArada* to worship (or do the *upAsanA* of) *nAma*. *vaiSNavas*, the followers of *viSNu*, chant the many names of *viSNu* (i.e., *rAma* and *KRSNa*), and so do the devotees of *ziva*, *devi*, and other deities. The practice of

[64] Verse 12.19: *tulya nindAstutatirmauni santuSto yena kenacit*; *aniketaH sthiramatirbhaktimAnme priyo naraH*.

[65] *rigvedaM bhagavo'dhyemi yajurvedaMsAmavedamAdrvaNaM caturthamitihAspurANaM pancamaM vedAnAM vedaM pitryaMrAziM daivaM nidhiM vAkovAkyamekAyanaM devavidyAM brahmvidyAM bhUtavidyAM kSatra vidyAm nakSatravidyAM sarpadevajanavidyAmetadbhagavo' dhyemi.* I remember *rigveda*, *yajurveda*, *sAmaveda*, and the fourth, *atharvaveda*; the fifth *Veda* or the history and *purANas* (including the *MahAbhArata*), the *ShrAddha* (rituals for paying homage to the departed parents) *zAztra* (or scripture or literature), mathematics, production, *nidhi zAztra*, logic, *niti zAztra* or moral and ethics, *deva vidya* (knowledge of deities), *Brahma vidya* (or knowledge of *brahman*), *bhUtavidyA* (or knowledge of all living beings), *kSatra vidya* (i.e., *dhanurveda* or knowledge of archery and other martial arts), *jyotiSa* (horoscope and other computations), *sarpadevajanavidya* or knowledge of serpents, as well as music, dance, singing, musical instruments, and all the crafts.

chanting the name of *brahman* is also followed by the Sikhs and the many other disciples of Guru Nanak (*nAma simaran* or chanting). Thus, *nAma* is simply the objectification, concretization, or providing some form to the formless *brahman*. As the two discuss, *sanatkumAr* goes on to establish the hierarchy from *nAma*, to speech (or *vAk*), to *manas*, saMkalpa (or intention or determination to perform some action or activity), *citta* (or awareness of time and context), and *dhyAna* (or meditation); *Adi zankara* defines it as cessation of many *vRttis* or wanderings and the flow of a single *vRtti* or thought; he further interprets it as single focus of *manas* or *ekAgratA*), *vijnAn* (or the knowledge of the scriptures according to *Adi zankara*), *balaM* (or strength that the manas obtains from using food or *anna* according to *Adi zankara*), *annaM* (or grains), *ApaH* (or water), *tejaH* (or heat, sun, or fire), *AkAza* (or sky), *smaraNa* (or remembrance), *AzA* (or hope), and *prANa* (or breath). *sanatkumAr* asks *nArada* to do the *upAsanA* of (or worship) each of these as one is superior to the other and offers explanation as to why.

From the 16th section, *sanatkumAr* starts telling *nArada* what is worth knowing and what he should pursue. He starts by saying that truth is worth knowing, and so truth should be pursued. He then goes on to explain one by one how one can know truth in depth by having special knowledge (or *vijnAn*), special knowledge through reflection (or doing *manana* in one's *manas*), reflection by having faith (or *zraddhA*), and faith by having readiness to serve the teacher (or *niSTha*). He then stresses the value of practice or *kRti*, which *Adi zankara* explains as control of senses and the single-mindedness of *manas* or *citta*. Then he instructs him to pursue happiness because if one is not happy one does not practice. At this juncture *sanatkumAr* explains to *narAda* what happiness is. He states – that which is *bhUmA* alone is happiness, and there is no happiness in anything else, which is lesser than *bhUmA* (*ChAndogyopaniSad*, 7.13.1).[66] *sanatkumAr* then goes on to explain that *bhUmA* is *Atman*, and thus only in knowing *Atman* is there happiness; all other happiness is insignificant. Thus, in the *upaniSads*, it is consistently stated that happiness is to be found in the pursuit of a spiritual journey that leads one to self-realization, in the merging of the self with *brahman*, and not in material achievements and sense pleasures.

Implications for Global Psychology

The model raises some questions. First, it seems that the *bhagavadgItA* is presenting the mechanism for attaining the ultimate peace for the self. Are there intermediate states of peace with which people can be content? In the discussion of all the four paths, desire was presented as a hurdle to be overcome. The question one can raise

[66] *chAndogyopaniSad*, 7.13.1: *Yo vai bhUmA tatsukhaM nAlpe sukhamasti bhUmaia sukhaM bhUmA tveva vijijnasitavya iti. bhUmAnaM bhagavo vijijnasa iti. Definitely, what is bhUmA* or complete that alone is happiness; there is no happiness in the lesser elements. Happiness is *bhUmA* only. You should enquire about *bhUmA*. *Narada* then asks especially about *bhUmA*.

is: Can desires be optimized? Can people develop a "healthy" understanding of how they are propelled by desires, and enjoy what they do without becoming overly greedy? Or, is it possible to face failure with pragmatism and the spirit of sportsmanship, without getting angry, and thus avoiding the negative consequents of anger?

In the Indian worldview and thought system, people are supposed to pass through four stages, i.e., *brahmcarya*, *grihastha*, *vAnaprastha*, and *sannyAsa*, and only in the last two stages of life are they supposed to pursue the ultimate peace. If we take the extreme stance that it is not possible to attain peace without controlling desires, as psychologists we still need to deal with the issue of how students (*bramhacarya* stage) and householders (*grihastha* stage) can attain optimum peace. A student needs to be proficient in what he or she is learning. Learning entails having the desire, if not passion, for acquiring knowledge and skills. Learning is fraught with successes and failures, and ambition, a strong desire to achieve something, which could be argued to be a form of greed, would be necessary to achieve excellence in one's endeavor. The ability to deal with anger when facing failure will also be necessary in the learning process. So, can a student have peace? Or, is this stage of life supposed to be turbulent? Similar arguments would apply to most of the people who are managing the worldly activities and who fall into the category of householders. Future research should address these issues.

Another question pertains to development, progress, and capitalism. Capitalism depends on people's ever growing desire for goods and services. Economic growth is stimulated by increased sales, i.e., by people buying more goods and services. Since desire is the source of personal disharmony, according to the above model, is capitalism destined to rob people of personal peace and harmony? Or, are those people and cultures that value personal peace, and think that it can be attained through controlling desires, destined not to make economic progress to the same degree as cultures that fan people's desires for material goods? On the surface the answers seems to be in the affirmative, but knowing that India was part of the first world until 1760 and even today it is one of the largest economies with GDP over one trillion dollars, it seems that the answers would be in the negative, or at least much research is needed to address these questions whose answers may be more complex and context driven.

One can also raise a question about the concepts of self-efficacy (Bandura, 1986) and fear of failure in the context of the model presented above. When we do a task, there is often the fear of failure, especially when we are doing it for the first time. Therefore, fear of failure is likely to moderate the link between desire and goals. Also, self-efficacy results from successfully doing a task and is likely to mediate desire and goals. Therefore, it seems important to include these concepts in the above model. Thus, indigenous models can benefit from Western psychology, and such syntheses are likely to lead us to global-community psychology.

Chapter 8
karma: An Indian Theory of Work

Industrial and organizational psychology is one of the branches of psychology that is dedicated to the study of work and work-related psychological variables. Other areas of psychology that also cover work-related issues include human factor studies, occupational psychology, and social psychology. Work is also central to human identity, a topic that is discussed in a wide variety of literature covering psychology, sociology, political science, and literary studies (Erez & Earley, 1993; Haslam, Ellemers, Platow, & Knippenberg, 2003; Thomas, Mills, & Helms-Mills, 2004). Work leads to social stratification, which has interested sociologists from the early days of the discipline, and Weber referred to work-related stratification as the merchant class. In more recent times, countries like the USA are stratified completely on the basis of the nature of work done by people (Beeghley, 2004; Gilbert, 2002; Thompson & Hickey, 2005). Psychologists have also been interested in studying work values and cultural differences in them from various perspectives and have explored and captured various shades in the meaning of work.

Some notable psychological work value studies include the contribution of Triandis who helped us understand differences in subjective values across cultures (1972) and more recently how self-deception shapes our values (2009). England's research on work-related personal value system captured pragmatic, moralistic, and hedonistic orientations (England, 1975). Hofstede's work on cultural differences in work values presented a typology of cultures (e.g., Individualism, Power Distance, Masculinity, Uncertainty Avoidance, and Time Orientation), which is useful in comparing work values across cultures (Hofstede, 1980, 2001). More recent work includes Schwartz's research that presented a universal value structure (1994), Inglehart's contribution toward the understanding of postmodernistic values (Inglehart, 1997), and Leung and Bond's (2004) enumeration of social axioms that are closely related to work values. Despite the emergence of such a large volume of cross-cultural psychological literature related to work, little is known about indigenous perspectives on work and work values, and the search for universals has debilitated the development of indigenous constructs and insights. This chapter tries to fill that lacuna by examining the concept of work and the associated values in India from an indigenous perspective.

D.P.S. Bhawuk, *Spirituality and Indian Psychology*, International and Cultural Psychology, DOI 10.1007/978-1-4419-8110-3_8, © Springer Science+Business Media, LLC 2011

Review of psychology of work, leadership and organizational change, and job attitudes have consistently shown that people in all occupations in India are dissatisfied with their work (Padki, 1988; Rao, 1981; Sharma, 1974; Sinha, 1981). Researchers have noted that there is conflict between cultural values of paternalism and the needs of modern work organizations (Nambudiri & Saiyadain, 1978), and though it remains largely unexplored, it is plausible that this is one of the reasons for work dissatisfaction in India. It has also been found that personal values of Indian managers are drastically different from those of US, Australian, Japanese, or Korean managers in that Indian managers are found to be the highest on moralistic orientation compared to managers in these countries (England, 1975, 1978). This suggests that perhaps Indian managers are viewing work from the perspective of *dharma*, which is another area that has remained unexplored as no enquiry has been directed in this direction. Despite such findings and observations, most studies of job satisfaction in India have been grounded in Western work motivation theories (Hackman & Oldham, 1976; Herzberg, 1966; Maslow, 1954), and there is a complete lack of indigenous concepts in work-related psychological and management literature, except for the work of Sinha on dependence proneness (Sinha, 1970) and nurturant task leader (Sinha, 1980).

The terms for work in most Indian languages that are derived from Sanskrit find their root in the word *karma* (*kam* in Hindi and Nepali, *kaj* or *kaj-karma* in Bengali, and so forth). *karma* is an important indigenous construct found in most Indian scriptures. For example, it appears in the *bhagavadgItA* in 36 verses: 2-49; 3-5, 8, 9, 15, 19, 24; 4-9, 15, 16, 18, 21, 23, 33; 5-11; 6-1, 3; 7-29; 8-1; 16-24; 17-27; 18-3, 5, 8, 9, 10, 15, 18, 19, 23, 24, 25, 43, 44, 47, 48. Other forms of the word (e.g., *karmachodana*, *karmajam*, *karmaNaH*, and so forth) or words related to it (*kartavyaM*, *kartuM*, and so forth) appear 76 and 21 times, respectively. Thus, *karma* is referred to in the *bhagavadgItA* 133 times. *kRSNa* tells *arjuna* that *karma* or action is a complex subject and even the wise get confused about what is action and what is inaction (verse 4.16). Considering the complexity of *karma*, *kRSNa* explains its nature to *arjuna* so that *arjuna* can get liberation from the material world.[1] *kRSNa* further advises *arjuna* to learn about actions, prohibited actions, and inactions, for the intricacies of *karma* are quite complex and difficult to understand.[2] It is no surprise that the *bhagavadgItA* is said to be the definitive Indian tome on *karma*. In this chapter, first the philosophy of *karma* is examined as presented in the *bhagavadgItA*, which helps understand the cultural meaning of work and work values in India, and then these ideas are examined in the context of other scriptures and religious traditions. Finally, implications for global psychology are examined.

[1] Verse 4.16: *kiM karma kimakarmeti kavayo'pyatra mohitAH*; *tatte karma pravakSyAmi yajjnAtvA mokShyase'zubhAt*.

[2] Verse 4.17: *karmaNo hyapi boddhavyaM boddhavyaM ca vikarmaNaH*; *akarmaNazca boddhavyaM gahana karmaNo gatiH*.

The Philosophy of *karma*

The first time *karma* appears as *karmabandhaM* in the *bhagavadgItA* in verse 2.39,[3] which refers to bondage resulting from doing *karma* or taking any action. *Adi zankara* explains this word in his commentary as also inclusive of *dharma* and *adharma*, i.e., bondage results not only from doing all kinds of work, but also from performing all activities that are guided by *dharma* or those that are prohibited by *dharma* as *adharma* (*karma eva dharmAdharmAkhyo bandhaH karmabandhaH*; Goyandaka, 2004, p. 56). This word appears again in verses 3.9[4] and in 9.28,[5] and it is used in the same sense. Thus, *karma* always leads to *karmabandhaM* or bondage, except when it is done with balance or *samatva*, where lies the solution as instructed in the *bhagavadgItA*, and the significance of this statement will become clear as we examine the concept of *karma* further. Next, in verse 2.47,[6] which is perhaps the most famous verse of the *bhagavadgItA*, *kRSNa* tells *arjuna* that one has only the right to perform his or her duties and does not ever have any right over the fruits of those activities. He is further instructed neither to work with his mind on achieving the fruits of his actions, nor to become attached to *not doing* his work since the fruits are not to be desired. We see that the *bhagavadgItA* quickly defines the purpose of work – work is to be performed for its own sake, not for its outcomes, and yet this should not demotivate one to become inactive.

In verse 2.48,[7] how to perform one's work is further elaborated upon. *kRSNa* asks *arjuna* to perform all work without any attachment, by performing tasks with indifference toward success or failure, and by situating himself in yoga, i.e., all work should be done for *brahman*'s sake, without even expecting to please *brahman* or with the desire that *brahman* will be pleased because one acted in a certain way.[8] And to clarify the idea further, yoga is defined as the mindset of balance (i.e., *samatvaM yoga ucyate*), which is an important contribution of the *bhagavadgItA*. Building these ideas further, in verse 2.49,[9] it is stated that those who pursue work for its outcomes are much inferior to those who pursue work without desiring

---

[3] Verse 2.39: *eSA te'bhihitA sAGkhye buddhiyoge tvimAM zriNu*; *buddhayA yukto yayA PArtha karmabandhaM prahAsyasi*.

[4] Verse 3.9: *yajnArthAtkarmaNo'nyatra loko'yaM karmabandhanaH*; *tadartha karma Kaunteya muktasaGgaH samAcAra*.

[5] Verse 9.28: *zubhAzubhaphalairevaM mokSyase karmabandhanaiH*; *sannyAsayogayuktAtma vimukto mAmupaiSyasi*.

[6] Verse 2.47: *karmaNyevAdhikAraste mA phaleZu kadAcana*; *mA karmaphalaheturbhUrmA te saGgo'stvakarmaNi*.

[7] Verse 2.48: *yogasthaH kuru karmANi saGgaMtyaktvA DhanaJjaya*; *siddhyaasiddhayoH samo bhUtvA samatvaM yoga ucyate*.

[8] *Adi zankara* explains *yogasthaH kuru karmANi saga tyaktva DhanaJjaya in his BhaSya as follows*: *yogasthaH san kuru karmANi kevalam IzvarArthaM tatra api Izvaro me tuSyatu iti saGga tyaktvA DhanaJjaya!*

[9] Verse 2.49: *dUreNa hyavaraM karma buddhiyogAddhanaJjaya*; *buddhau zaraNamanviccha kripaNaH phalahetavaH*.

the outcomes or fruits of their endeavor. In this verse, those who pursue the outcomes are said to be miser (or *kripaNa*) or pitiable, which is supported in the *bRhadaraNyak upaniSad* – O Gargi, those who leave this world without knowing the undecaying *brahman* are miser.[10] This idea is also captured in *kenopaniSad* where it is stated that if in this human life one knows *brahman* then it is good; but if one does not know *brahman* in this life, then there is a heavy loss.[11] Thus, striving to achieve the outcomes of our work is inherently pitiable as it distracts from the higher goals of life, the pursuit of *brahman*.

In this verse (i.e., 2.49), *buddhiyoga* is used to denote *karmayoga* and this is significant in many ways. *Buddhi* is superior to *manas* (as noted in verse 3.42[12]) and it can be directed outward toward the material world, work, outcomes of work, pleasures of material world, and so forth; or it can be directed inward toward the *atman* and *brahman*. When *buddhi* is directed inward and it connects with *atman*, *buddhiyoga* results. Work done with *buddhi* directed outward is said to be much inferior to work done with *buddhi* that is focused on and connected with *atman*. Later in verse 10.10,[13] *kRSNa* says that he grants *buddhiyoga* to people who are constantly devoted to him and chant his name with love. This also supports that *buddhiyoga* means inner directed *buddhi*. Further in verse 18.57,[14] the same idea is asserted – with consciousness surrender all actions to me and by engaging in *buddhiyoga* constantly place your *citta* or *manas* in me. Thus, the value of cultivating an inward looking *buddhi* in the performance of one's task is emphasized in the *bhagavadgItA*.[15]

Having defined yoga as the balance of mind in success or failure of the performance of one's work, in verse 2.50 another definition that links *karma* and yoga is presented – yoga is excellence in work.[16] *Adi zankara* explains this in his

---

[10] *bRhadaraNyak* 3, 8. 10: *Yo vA atadakSaraM GArgyaviditvAsmAllokAtpraiti sa kripaNaH*. Cited in *Adi zankara's* commentary (Goyandaka, 2004, p. 62).

[11] KenopaniSad 2.5: *iha cedavedIdatha satyamasti na cedihAvedInmahatI vinaStiH*.

[12] Verse 3.42: *indriyANi parANyAhurindriyebhyaH paraM manaH*; *manasastu parA buddhiyor buddheH paratastu saH*. The senses are said to be superior to the gross body, and *manas* is superior to the senses. *Buddhi* is superior to *manas*, and *atman* is superior to *buddhi*.

[13] Verse 10.10: *teSAM satatayuktAnAM bhajatAM prItipUrvakaM*; *dadAmi buddhiyogaM taM yena mAmupayAnti te*. I give *buddhiyoga* to those who are constantly engrossed in me and chant my name with love. With *buddhiyoga* they achieve me.

[14] Verse 18.57: *cetasa sarva karmANi mayi saMnyasya matparaH*; *buddhiyogamupAzritya maccitaH satataM bhava*. By surrendering all the *karma* with your *citta* or *manas* (e.g., voluntarily and naturally), surrender yourself completely to me. By taking shelter in *buddhiyoga* constantly place your *citta* or *manas* in me, i.e., become one with me.

[15] *Adi zankara* also notes two kinds of *buddhi* in the opening statement of his commentary on the third Canto of the *bhagavadgItA* – *zAstrasya pravrittinivrittiviSayabhUte dve buddhI bhagavatA nirdiSte*, *sAGkhye buddhiH yoge buddhiH iti ca*. KriSNa enumerates two kinds of *buddhi* in the *bhagavadgItA*, a *buddhi* that is inner bound employed by the jnAnis or those who follow the path of knowledge and a *buddhi* that is outer bound employed by people pursuing material life (Goyandaka, 2004, p. 76).

[16] Verse 2.50: *buddhiyukto jahAtIha ubhe sukritaduSkrite*; *tasmAdyogAya yujyasva yogaH karmasu kauzalam*.

commentary as follows. Though work by its very nature is a cause of bondage as was noted earlier in the chapter, it does not cause bondage if one performs his or her work with a balanced mind. Thus, performing one's work in this way (i.e., with a balanced mind) is achieving excellence in the performance of one's actions or tasks. He suggested that such excellence is achieved when one performs his or her prescribed duties or work by surrendering the consciousness to *brahman*, which leads to having a balance in success and failure (Goyandaka, 2004, p. 62).[17] In verse 2.51, the wise person who gives up the fruits of his or her work is said to achieve the highest abode of *brahman* by becoming free from the birth and death cycle.[18] Thus, right at the outset in the second Canto, the philosophy of *karma* is presented in no uncertain terms. Work is to be done and never to be avoided. Work is to be done without seeking its outcomes. Work is to be done without paying attention to success or failure. When work is so performed, with a balanced mind, one achieves excellence in his or her performance, work does not cause bondage to life and death cycle, and one achieves the purpose of life – union with *brahman*. Work is thus presented as a spiritual practice, a unique Indian perspective on work that fits the Indian worldview that emphasizes spirituality as we saw in Chapter 3 earlier.

Though the six verses in the second Canto quite succinctly state the philosophy of *karma*, *arjuna* is unsure if he should be following the path of *jnAn* (or path of knowledge) or *karma*, since *kRSNa* praised the path of knowledge toward the end of the second Canto. In verse 3.1,[19] *arjuna* complains to *kRSNa*, "If the path of knowledge is superior, why are you asking me to engage in this dreadful battle?" In response, *kRSNa* says in verse 3.3 that there are two paths that one can follow to engage in the world – the path of sAGkhya or knowledge and the path of *karmayoga* or work.[20] In verse 3.4, *kRSNa* explains that simply avoiding or not starting work does not lead to the state where one is free of bondage; just as simply renouncing the world does not lead to self-realization.[21] The intent is that not doing work is not an option, which is clarified in verse 3.5 by stating that living beings are simply not able to stay away from work even for a moment, as they are compelled to act or made to act willy-nilly.[22]

Building this idea further, in verse 3.6 it is stated that if one forces the organs of action not to engage in work, but the *manas* keeps chasing the actions, then one is

---

[17] *Yogo hi karmasu kauzalaM svadharmAkhyeSu karmasu vartamAnasya yA siddhayasiddhayoH samatvabuddhiH IzvarArpitacetastayA tat kauzalaM kuzalabhAvaH* (Goyandaka, 2004, p. 62).

[18] Verse 2.51: *karmajaM buddhiyuktvA hi phalaM tyaktvA manISiNaH*; *janmabandhavinirmuktAH padaM gacchantyanAmayam*.

[19] Verse 3.1: *jyAyasI cetkarmaNaste matA buddhirJanardan*; *tatkiM karmaNi ghore mAM niyojayasi KeZava*.

[20] Verse 3.3: *Loke'smindvividhA niSTha purA proktA mayAnagha*; *jnAnayogena sAGkhyAnAM karmayogena yoginAM*.

[21] Verse 3.4: *na karmaNAmanArambhAnnaiSkarmyaM puriSo'znute*;*na ca saMnyasanAdeva siddhiM samAdhigacchati*.

[22] Verse 3.5: *na hi kazcitksaNamapi jAtu tiSThatyakarmakrit*; *kAryate hyavazaH karma sarvaH prakitjairguNaiH*.

a hypocrite or sinner.[23] And verse 3.7 shows the way – one should control the *manas* and only engage in work with the action organs, remaining detached from all aspects of work and its outcomes.[24] Such a person is a *karmayogi* – one who practices *karmayoga* or a path in which one is engaged in actions and performs work with the body, but the *manas* is connected to *Atman* or *brahman*. When one works in this way, the outcomes of one's actions have no motivating potential, and one constantly pursues an inward journey, which is inherently fulfilling and satisfying. Thus, *kRSNa* establishes work as a path (or *karmayoga*) equal to the path of knowledge (or *jnAnyoga*); rules out the option of not performing work because it is simply not possible to do so; states that work is innate to all beings and we are naturally propelled to act; forcing the body not to act but not being able to control the *manas* from engaging in work is futile and hypocritical; and the ideal way to work is to keep the *manas* anchored internally while engaging in work externally.

Having established that one should work, next what is work is dealt with. In verse 3.8, it is stated that one should perform the prescribed work,[25] which *Adi zankara* interprets as work that is prescribed in the *vedas* for which no outcomes are stated.[26] In other words, it is work handed down to people by tradition; people know what they are supposed to do, and when in doubt the elders can guide them to the right work. This becomes clear because in the same verse two reasons are given for doing one's work. First, doing one's work is superior to not doing it, and second, we cannot go on with the journey of life without performing our work. Both these reasons allude to prescribed work that is done to sustain one's life. When we work to only sustain ourselves we do not overeat, or drink too much, or buy too many clothes, or use big cars or houses, and so forth, to use some examples from various domains of consumption. In other words, there is no excessive consumption on our part. In fact a person living to sustain his or her life would doctor his or her consumption like a dose of a medicine, and that invariably would leave plenty for everybody else. Not doing such prescribed work makes one lazy or negligent, and one needs to do them for a living.

yajna, karma, and Work

In the next seven verses (3.9–3.15), the relationship between *yajna* and work is established. This is important in the Indian worldview where the beginning sections of *vedas* including the *mantras* and the *brahmaNas* are referred to as *karma-kANDa*,

---

[23] Verse 3.6: *KarmendriyANi saMyamya ya Aste manasA smaran*; *indriyArthAnvimudhAtma mithyacarH sa ucyate*.

[24] Verse 3.7: *yastvindriyANi manasa niyamyArabhate'rjuna*; *karmendriyaiH karmayogamasaktaH sa viziSyate*.

[25] Verse 3.8: *niyataM kuru karma tvaM karma jyayo hyakarmaNaH*; *zrIrayAtrApi ca ten a prasiddhyedakarmaNaH*.

[26] *niyataM nityaM yo yasmin karmaNi adhikritaH phalAya ca azrutaaM tad niyataM* (Goyandaka, 2004, p. 88).

the middle section consisting of the *Aranyakas* are called *upAsanA-kAnda*, and the *upaniSads* constitute the later section or the *jnAna-kAnDa*. The generally agreed upon view about the *karma-kANDa* is that it comprises *yajnas* and other activities that are motivated to achieve worldly goods including health, wealth, children, and so forth, and the *Arya samAj* may be an exception to this view since their followers perform the fire *yajna* for spiritual progress rather than material growth. In verse 3.9, all *karma* other than those done for *yajna* are said to be the cause of bondage, and so *arjuna* is entreated to offer all work to *brahman* by giving up attachment.[27] Naturally, *arjuna* is being encouraged to fight in the battle, so it clearly implies that all kinds of actions, even violent acts like war, can become *yajna*-like if one performs them dispassionately by offering it to *brahman*. Thus, *yajna* is presented as a synonym of work. In verse 3.10, it is stated that *prajApati* or *brahmA* (the creator part of the trinity – *brahmA* or the creator, *viSNu* or the protector, and *maheza* or the destroyer) created *yajna* along with people and asked them to use it for their growth and progress as it would provide them with what they wished.[28] Thus, *yajna* or work becomes the tool for achieving what one desires. By performing *yajna* human beings would make the *devas* (e.g., *indra, agni, varuNa, pavan, rudra, maruta*, and so forth[29]) prosperous, who in turn would make human beings prosperous, and thus by helping each other both would achieve the highest well-being (verse 3.11).[30] These verses shed light on the Indian worldview about the relationship between a multitude of *devas* and human beings. The relationship is that of interdependence and not dependence. Humans do not depend on *devas*. They perform various *yajnas* that nourish the *devas*, and the *devas* are obligated to grant what the humans need and seek from them. The reciprocal relationship is guided by *dharma – dhArayati yena sa dharmaH* – what supports humans and *devas* is their respective *dharma*.[31]

In verse 3.12, it is reaffirmed that *devas* would fulfill the desires of people who perform *yajna*, but a warning is issued that one should offer everything to *devas* before consuming it; and what is consumed without offering to *devas* is tantamount to stealing.[32] In verse 3.13, this idea is further developed by stating that those who live on the remains of *yajna* are freed from all sins, and those who cook to eat are

---

[27] Verse 3.9: *yajnArthAtkarmaNo'nyatra loko'yaM karmabandhanaH*; *tadartha karma Kaunteya muktasaGgaH samAcAra*.

[28] Verse 3.10: *sahayajnAH prajAH sriSTvA purovAca prajapatiH*; *anena prasaviSyadhvameSa vo'stviSTakAmadhuk*.

[29] Indra is the King of *devas* and the God of thunder and rain; *agni* is God of fire; *varuNa* is God of water; *pavan* is God of wind; *rudra* is the God that roars and evokes fear; *maruta* is the God of storm.

[30] Verse 3.11: *devAnbhAvayatAnena te devA bhAvayantu vaH*; *parsparaM bhAvayantaH zreyaH parmavApsyatha*.

[31] *mahAbhArata* 12.110.11: *dhAraNAd dharma iti Ahur dharmeNa vidhrtAH prajAH*; *yat syAd dhAraNa saMyuktam sa dharma iti nizcayaH*. Dharma upholds both the material world and the world beyond.

[32] Verse 3.12: *iStAnbhogAnhivo devA dAsyante yajnabhAvitAH*; *taittanpradArdayaibhyo yo bhuG-kte stena eva saH*.

sinners and indeed eat sin.[33] This is similar to the Socratic wisdom – eat to live not live to eat. These verses promote the idea that work should not be done for sense gratification, and as noted in verse 3.9, work should be done without attachment toward work or its outcomes. Taking pride in one's work or pursuing work with achievement motivation or for its outcomes is clearly not recommended in the *bhagavadgItA*, and this is one of the major differences in work and work values between India and the West, which has not been captured in the literature hitherto. Such contributions are likely to emerge from indigenous perspective rather than pseudoetic approach to psychological research.

In verses 3.14 and 3.15, a model is presented that shows causal connection between *yajna* and human existence. People are born of food, food is born of rain, rain is born of *yajna*, and *yajna* is born of *karma* (verse 3.14[34]). *karma* is born of *vedas*, *vedas* are born of indestructible *brahman* (see Figure 8.1 below), and so the all pervading *brahman* is always present in *yajna* (verse 3.15[35]). In the Indian worldview, *yajna*, where offerings are made to fire, is long viewed as the cause of rain and the growth of plants, vegetables, and food. For example, in the *manusmRti,* it is also stated that the offering properly made to fire is placed in sun; sun causes rain, rain causes grains, and from grains come people.[36] *yajna* is interpreted to include not only the ritual offering to fire but also all activities that keep the universe running, and in that sense it is inclusive of all kinds of work done by all beings. Thus, work is glorified to be always permeated by *brahman*, and thus doing any work is of the highest order. However, if it is done with passion and attachment it is a sin, and if it is done without attachment, then it frees one of all bondage. Thus, work is couched in a spiritual worldview as a path leading to self-realization if done properly without pursuing their outcomes. This is similar to how Martin Luther gave everyday activity spiritual significance by coining the term *beruf* or calling and equating it to vocation, which will be discussed later (Weber, 1930).

It should be noted that *yajna* is not fire sacrifice only, which is captured again in 11 verses in the fourth Canto (verses 4.23–4.33). In verse 4.23, *karma* is equated to

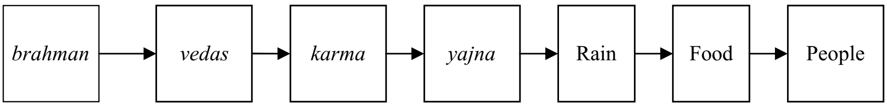


Figure 8.1 *brahman*, work, *yajna*, and human beings: A causal framework

[33] Verse 3.13: *yajnaziSTAzinaH santo mucyante sarvakilbiSaiH*; *bhuJjate te tvaghaM pApA ye pacantyAtmakAraNAt*.

[34] Verse 3.14: *annAdbhavanti bhUtAni parjanyAdannAsambhavaH*; *yajnAdbhavati parjanyo yajnaH karmasmudbhavaH*.

[35] Verse 3.15: *karma brahmodbhav-aM viddhi brahmAkSarsamudbhavam*; *tasmAtsarvagatam brahma nityaM yajne pratiSThitam*.

[36] *agnau prAstAhutiH samyagAdityamupatiZThate*; *AdityAjjAyate vriStirvriSterannaM tataH prajAH* (*manusmRti* 3.76). The offering given properly to fire is placed in Sun; Sun causes rain, rain causes grains, and from grains come people.

yajna for a person who is without attachment, free from the bondage of both *dharma* and *adharma*, and whose *manas* or *citta* always stays in *jnAna*. Whatever actions or work such a person performs is for the sake of *yajna*, and the *karma*, its fruits, and the accompanying bondage are destroyed or simply vanish.[37] In describing the qualities of such a person a process of how to work is implied – work should be performed without attachment, without worrying or thinking about its outcomes, and with *manas* placed in *jnAna*. When one so performs his or her work, it becomes *yajna* and frees the person of *karmic* bondage. In verse 4.24, the work of advanced yogis is captured with poetic beauty – what is offered in a *yajna* is *brahman*, the fire in which offerings are placed is *brahman*, the action of offering is *brahman*, the outcome or fruit of such a *yajna* is *brahman*, and such a person whose *manas* has become quiet achieves *brahman* by doing such a *brahman-karma* or *yajna*.[38] In this verse, work itself has been merged with *brahman*, and the advanced yogi is said to be engaged with *brahman* whatever work they do.

In verse 4.25, two types of *yajnas* are described: first, the act of worshipping various *devas* is referred to as *daiva-yajna*, and second, where *yajna* itself is offered in the fire of *brahman*.[39] This second kind of *yajna* is of the highest kind and captures the constant offering of every action to *brahman*, and thus the actor, action, and outcome all become *brahman* as noted in the previous verse. In verse 4.26, two other types of *yajnas* are described – one in which one offers the senses into the fire of restraint (i.e., restraining the senses is a type of *yajna*) and the other in which one offers the objects to the senses without attachment (i.e., consumption by the senses without attachment is also a *yajna*).[40] In verse 4.27, restraint is referred to as *AtmasaMyamayogAgni* or the fire of yoga ignited by *jnAna* or knowledge through restraining of the self, and offering all activities of one's body and *prANa* (or breathing) in this fire is considered another kind of *yajna*.[41] The thrust of verses 26 and 27 is that we should restrain our senses, as restraining the senses and *manas* transforms all human activities into a *yajna*.

In verse 4.28, five other types of *yajna* are noted.[42] Charity (e.g., using resources for the benefit of others or in spiritual activities), austerities, *aStAGgayoga* (or the eightfold path of yoga that includes *yama*, *niyama*, *Asana*, *prAnAyAma*, *pratyAhAra*, *dhAraNa*, *dhyAna*, and *samAdhi*), studying the scriptures, and path of *JnAna*

---

[37] Verse 4.23: *gatasaGgasya muktasya jnAnAvasthitacetasaH*; *yajnAyAcarataH karma samagraM pravilIyate*.

[38] Verse 4.24: *brahmArpaNaM Brahma havirbrahmAgnau BrahmaNA hutam*; *Brahmaiva tena gantavyaM BrahmakarmasamAdhinA*.

[39] Verse 4.25: *daivamevApare yajnaM yoginaH paryupAsate*; *BrahmAgnAvapare yajnaM yajnenaivopajuhvati*.

[40] Verse 4.26: *zrotrAdInIndriyANyanye saMyamAgniSu juhvati*; *zabdAdInviSayAnanya indriyAgniSu juhvati*.

[41] Verse 4.27: *sarvaNIndriyakarmANi prANakarmANi capare*; *AtmasaMyamayogAgnau juhvatijnAnadIpite*.

[42] Verse 4.28: *dravyayajnAstapoyajnA yogayajnAstathApare*; *svAdhyAyajnAnayajnAzca yatayaH saMzitavratAH*.

or knowledge are all considered *yajnas*. People who perform any of these *yajnas* or follow any of these paths are serious practitioners of spirituality and follow many strict vows. In verse 4.29, the practice of *prANAyAma* is stated to be another type of yajna, and in this *yajna* people practice *pUrak* (inhaling), *recak* (exhaling), and *kumbhak* (the process of holding breath inside).[43] Finally, in verse 4.30, the *yajna* of balanced eating is mentioned, and such practitioners are said to offer their *prANa* in the fire of *prANa*.[44] In this verse, it is stated that all these practitioners of various *yajnas* described in verses 4.23–4.30 know what a *yajna* is and burn their *karmic* bondage through the practice of any one of these *yajnas*. Thus, all *yajnas* or paths lead to freeing us from the *karmic* bondage.

Further, in verse 4.31, it is stated that those who eat the nectar-remains of a *yajna* achieve *brahman*, but those who do not perform *yajna* miss out both this world and beyond, i.e., they are failure in this world and also do not make progress toward spiritual attainment.[45] In other words, all are encouraged to engage in at least one of the *yajnas* noted above. Finally, *kRSNa* tells *arjuna* that many kinds of *yajnas* are described in the *vedas*, and that all these *yajnas* are born of *karma*.[46] And he concludes by saying that among different *yajnas*, the one that uses *jnAna* (or knowledge) is superior to those that use material things (i.e., the fire *yajnas*), and that all *karma* in the end is consummated in *jnAna*. In other words, in the end it is *jnAna* that leads to liberation, and all paths converge on *jnAna* (see Figure 5.2 in Chapter 5).[47] Thus, in the *bhagavadgItA* much effort is made to equate *karma* with *yajna*, and in the process all actions and work are raised to the level of *yajna*. It is clear from the above that in the Indian worldview *yajna* symbolizes *brahman*, and work is glorified by comparing it to *yajna*.

In many other texts, *yajna* is interpreted to mean work. In the *taittirIya upaniSad* (1.7.4), it is said that "*yajno vai viSNuH*" (*yajna* verily is *viSNu*), and this is supported in *viSNusahasranAma* where *yajna* is used as one of the names of *viSNu* (i.e., *viSNu* is the deity who takes the form of *yajna*) along with 11 other words that are associated with *yajna*, namely *yajnapati* (one who is the protector and the master of the *yajnas*), *yajnvA* (one who manifests as the performer of a *yajna*), *yajnaGgaH* (all the parts of his body is identified with the parts of a *yajna*), *yajnavAhanaH* (one who supports the *yajnas*, which yield various fruits), *yajnabhRt* (he is the protector and supporter of all *yajnas*), *yajnakRt* (one who performs the *yajna* at the beginning and end of or the world), *yajnI* (one who is the principal of *yajna*), *yajnabhuk* (one who is the enjoyer of *yajna*), *yajnasAdhanaH* (one to whom

[43] Verse 4.29: *apane juhvati prANaM prANe'pAnaM tathapare*; *prANApAnagatI rudhva prANAyAmaparAyaNAH*.

[44] Verse 4.30: *apare niyatahArAH prANAnprANeSu juhvati*; *sarve'pyete yajnavido yajnakSapitkalmaSAH*.

[45] Verse 4.31: *yajnaziSTAmritabhujo yAnti Brahma sanatanam*; *nAyaM loko'styayajnasya kuto'nyaH Kurusattama*.

[46] Verse 4.32: *evaM bahuvidhA yajnA vitatA brahmaNo mukhe*; *karmajAnvidhhi tAnsarvAnevaM jnAtva vimokSyase*.

[47] Verse 4.33: *zreyAndrvyamayAdyajnAjjnAnayajnaH paraMtapa*; *sarvaM karmAkhilaM PArtha jnAne parisamApyate*.

the *yajna* is the approach), *yajnAntakRt* (one who is the end of the fruits of *yajna*), and *yajnaguhyam* (the *jnAna yajna* or the sacrifice of knowledge, which is the most esoteric of all the *yajnas*).

Similarly, in the *harivamZa* (3.34.34–3.34.41), all the parts of the cosmic boar, which is an incarnation of *viSNu*, are identified with the parts of a fire *yajna*.[48] It is stated that the *vedas* are its feet, the sacrificial post and rites its molars and arms, fire its tongue, the *darba* grass its hair, *brahmA* its head, days and nights its eyes, the six *vedas* its earrings, *ghI* (or clear butter used in fire sacrifice) its nose, *zruvas* its mouth, *SAma* chant its voice, *dharma* and truth as its arms, holy acts its footsteps, penance its nails, the sacrificial animal its knees, the *vedic* chants its intestines, the act of sacrifice its sex organ, herbs its seeds, the atmosphere its soul, the *vedic mantra*s its hind parts, the *soma* juice its blood, the sacrificial pits its shoulders, the *havya* and *kavya* its great speed, the *prAgvaMza* or the sacrificer its body, the sacrificial gift its heart, subsidiary rites its lips and teeth, the *pravargya* its pores, the *vedic* meters its routs, and the *upaniSads* its buttocks. Similarly, Dayanand Sarasvati in his commentary on the *yajurveda* translated *yajna* to mean 18 different types of work. Thus, *yajna*, and by implication work, is given the highest status and it is but natural that the way out of all bondage, which is caused by work, lies in transforming work into *yajna* by giving up attachments to its fruits.

niSkAma karma or Work Without Desire

In verse 3.16, it is stated that a person pursuing the fruits of his or her endeavor who enjoys worldly pleasures derived through the sense organs is simply wasting his or her life.[49] This is a strong statement condemning the materialistic lifestyle and worldview and is quite contrary to what Adam Smith believed – "It is not from the benevolence of the butcher, the brewer, or the baker, that we can expect our dinner, but from their regards to their own interest." The doctrine of *niSkAma karma* also focuses on self-interest, but proposes that in one's own interest one should not chase the fruits of his or her endeavor. What is to be noted is that this doctrine was not proposed in a poor country, as often people hastily conclude from the state of the Indian economy today. It is a historical fact that China and India contributed

---

[48] *harivaMza* 3.34-40: *veda-pAdo yUpa-DamSTraH kratuhastaz citimukhaH; agni-jihvo darbha-romA brahma-zIrSo mahAtapAH* (3.34). *ahorAtr'ekSaNo divyo vedAGgaH zruti-bhUSaNaH; Ajya-nAsaH sruva-tundaH sAma-ghoSa-svano mahAn* (3.35). *dharma-satyamayaH zrImAn karma-vikrama-satkriyaH; prAyazcitta-nakhoghoraH pazujAnur mahA-bhujah* (3.36). *udgAtra'andho homalingo bIjauzadhi-mahA-phalAH; vAyvantarAtmA mantraphig vikramaH somazoNitaH* (3.37). *vedIskandho havir gandho navya-kavya'Ativegawan; prAg-mamza-kAyo dyutimAn NaNa-dikSAbhir arcitaH* (3.38). *dakziNA-hridayo yogi mahA-satramayomahAn; upAkarmo'StharucakaH pravargyA'varta-bhUSanaH* (3.39). *nAnA-cchando-gati-patho guhyo'paniSadAsanaH; chAyA-patnI-sahAyo vai meru-zriGga ivo'cchritaH* (3.40).

[49] Verse 3.16: *evaM pravartitaM cakraM nAnuvartayatIha yaH*; *aghayurindriyArAmo moghaM Partha sa jIvati*.

three-fourth of the world GDP until 1760 and constituted the economic first world (Kennedy, 1989). Thus, it can be argued that such a work philosophy has no impact on the economic prosperity of a country (Bhawuk, Munusamy, Bechtold, & Sakuda, 2007), thus questioning the foundation of modern economic theories laid by Adam Smith. In the Indian worldview, it is not only possible but preferred to live for the well-being of others in the society for one's spiritual progress. By transcending bread, meat, and wine, which symbolize the material existence, one is able to lead a spiritual life and this is what Jesus instructed in the *Sermon on the Mount* when he gave the clarion call to humanity – (Hu)man shall not live by bread alone. Thus, we see the convergence in the experience, thinking, and prescription of enlightened spiritual leaders in different cultures.

In verses 3.17–3.19, the conditions in which work does not become bondage is explained. In verse 3.17, it is stated that for a person who only finds the Self pleasurable, who finds the Self as the only source of contentment, and who finds complete satisfaction in the Self alone, work does not exist.[50] In verse 3.18, this idea is further developed by stating that such a person has no quid pro quo relationship with anybody, and such a person has no purpose in dong or not doing a task.[51] In verse 3.19, it is concluded that when a person performs his or her work without any attachment he or she achieves the highest state, and therefore, one should always work without attachment.[52] These verses show a path or state the way one should work – by constantly focusing on oneself, being content in the Self rather than the outcomes of the work, working without expecting anything from anybody, and working constantly without attachment to the work or its outcomes. When one so works, work is likely done to simply serve people around this person. This is not to be confused as not-for-profit work or service done by saintly people. The scope of this approach is limitless as any organizational work can become self-less service if done this way. This may be an alien thought outside the Indian worldview, but it is worth our while to test this wisdom in our own experience. If it can provide contentment and happiness, it may be worth pursuing, for money or credit cards can buy everything but happiness and contentment.[53]

Working for Social Good

In verses 3.20–3.25, the idea of living a life for the welfare of the society is stated from multiple perspectives. First, in verse 3.20, King janak, who was known to be a self-realized person, is presented as an exemplar of leading a life by following the

[50] Verse 3.17: *yastvAtmaratireva syAdAtmatriptazca mAnavaH*; *Atmanyeva ca saMtuSTastasya kAryaM na vidyate*.

[51] Verse 3.18: *naiva tasya kritenArtho nAkriteneha kazcana*; *na cAsya sarvabhuteSu kazcidarthavyapAzryaH*.

[52] Verse 3.19: *tasmAdasaktaH satataM kAryaM karma samAcara*; *asakto hyAcarankarma parmApnoti puruSaH*.

[53] "There are some things money can't buy. For everything else, there is Mastercard." A popular credit card commercial captures this quite beautifully.

philosophy of *niSkAma karma*, and implicit in the statement is the fact that even kings can pursue such a path despite the demands of the administration of a country.[54] This is instructive because most people today work in organizations or have to deal with organizations, which requires dealing with affairs much like kings had to deal with. This is particularly applicable to managers and CEOs, the kings of organizational world we live in today. Later in the fourth Canto, this idea is further emphasized in verse 4.15 when *kRSNa* cites tradition as a rationale for *arjuna* to engage in the battle. He tells *arjuna* that those desirous of *mokSa* or liberation from birth and death cycle in the past had also engaged in the roles prescribed for their caste or *varNa* and so he should do the same.[55]

In verse 3.21, *kRSNa* states that common people follow the example of the leaders, and in verse 3.22 gives his own example – though he did not need anything and there was nothing that he could not achieve, yet he engaged himself in mundane work so that people would emulate him.[56] It is implied here that even a *deva* has to work not only when he and she[57] comes in human form but also when a *deva* is in his and her nonhuman or universal form. This idea is further emphasized in the fourth Canto in verse 4.14, where *kRSNa* tells *arjuna* that actions neither touch him nor does he desire their outcomes, and those who thus understand him are not bound by *karma*.[58] Thus, if *arjuna* and other people were to follow the example of *kRSNa*, they should neither be attached to whatever they do nor pursue the fruits of their endeavor to avoid the bondage that comes with actions. Finally, in verse 3.25, the wise ones are also exhorted to work for the benefit of the society just as hard as those who pursue material benefits through their work.[59] The importance of work is further captured in verse 3.26 where the wise are advised to engage the materially oriented people in work, because working for material gains is superior to not working.[60] Thus, work is not to be avoided, everybody is supposed to work hard, it is better to work for material benefit than not to work, and those who work hard to serve others pursue a path of spiritual self-development through their work itself.

---

[54] Verse 3.20: *karmaNaiva hi saMsidhimAsthitA JanakAdayaH*; *loksaMgrahamevApi saMpazyankartumarhasi*.

[55] Verse 4.15: *evaM jnAtvA kritaM karma pUrvairapi mumukSubhiH*; *kuru karmaiva tasmAttvaM pUrvaiH pUrvataraM kritam*.

[56] Verse 3.21: *yadyadAcarati zreSThastattadevetarA janaH*; *sa yatpramANaM kurute lokstadanuvartate*. Verse 3.22: *na me ParthAsti kartvyaM triSu lokeSu kiMcana*; *nAnavAptamavAptavyaM varta eva ca karmaNi*.

[57] Since God is gender free or can be either male or female, I prefer to use “he and she” when referring to God instead of he or she.

[58] Verse 4.14: *na maM karmANi limpanti na me karmaphale sprihA*; *iti mAM yo'bhijanati karmabhirna sa badhyate*.

[59] Verse 3.25: *saktAH karmaNyavidvAMso yathA kurvanti bhArata*; *kuryAdvidvAMstath AsaktazcikIrSurloksaMgraham*.

[60] Verse 3.26: *na buddhibhedaM janayedajnAnAM karmasaNginAm*; *joSayetsarvakarmANi vidvAnyuktaH samAcaran*.

In verses 3.27–3.29, yet another perspective on work is presented using the Indian worldview and the philosophical tradition of sAGkhya. In verse 3.27, it is stated that all work is being done by nature, but people blinded by egotism consider themselves as the agent.[61] In verse 3.28, the difference between those who know the truth and those who do not is explained by stating that those who know do not get attached to any work or its outcome because they know that all work is manifestation of the three *guNas*.[62] This idea is emphasized again in the fourth Canto in verse 4.13, where *kRSNa* tells *arjuna* that he created the four *varNas* or castes based on *guNas* and *karma*, and though that makes him (i.e., *viSNu*) the agent he (i.e., *viSNu*) is really not an agent the way ordinary people view him.[63] Those who do not know the truth are overwhelmed by the three *guNas* and get attached to their work and its outcomes (verse 3.29[64]), and consistent with what was stated earlier, the wise should not disturb them, i.e., should allow them to continue to work chasing the fruits of their endeavors. Thus, the philosophy of *karma* as propounded in the *bhagavadgItA* fits well with the established Indian philosophical thoughts of zAGkhya. Though it is better to work if one is attached to the material world than not to work, it is clear that ideally one should be detached from all actions and their outcomes.

Working with Devotion

In verses 3.30–3.35, devotion is shown to be another way to avoid the bondage of *karma* or work. In verse 3.30, *arjuna* is asked to surrender all his activities to *kRSNa* and to engage in the battle without any expectation and any ownership or agency in performing the actions.[65] In verses 3.31 and 3.32, this idea is generalized to all humans, not only to *arjuna*, and thus it becomes a general approach of avoiding *karmic* bondage for those who follow it; and those who do not or cannot follow this simple approach are said to be attached to their work and its outcomes and suffer the never ending cycle of birth and death.[66] In verse 3.33, it is stated that even the *jnAnIs* are driven by their natural inclination or aptitude, so others will not be able to resist their nature of seeing themselves as agent and their desire to enjoy the

[61] Verse 3.27: *prakriteH kriyamANAni gunaiH karmaNi sarvazaH*; *ahaMkarvimudhAtmA kartAhamiti manyate*.

[62] Verse 3.28: *tattvavittu m=MahAbAho guNakarmavibhAgayoH*; *guNa guNeSu vartante iti matvA na sajjate*.

[63] Verse 4.13: *cAturvarnyaM mayA sriSTaM guNakarmavibhAgazaH*; *tasya kartAramapi mAM viddhyakartAramavyayam*.

[64] Verse 3.29: *prakriterguNasaMmUDhaH sajjante guNakarmasu*; *tAnakritsnavido mandAnkritasnavinna vicAleyet*.

[65] Verse 3.30: *mayi sarvANi karmANi saMnyasyAdhyAtmacetasA*; *nirAzIrnirmamo bhUtvA yudhyasva vigatajvaraH*.

[66] Verse 3.31: *ye me matamidaM nityamanutiSThanti mAnavAH*; *zradhAvanto'nasUyanto mucyante te'pi karmabhiH*. Verse 3.32: *ye tvetadabhyasUyanto nAnutiSThanti me matam*; *sarvajnAnavimDhaMstAnviddhi nazTanacetasaH*.

material world.[67] Though there is a sense of determinism in this verse, it is only presented so that in the next verse the cause of such attachment can be identified.

In verse 3.34, a general principle is noted – attachment and resentment are situated in every activity that human organs engage in, and one should strive not to get under their yoke for they are the enemies of spiritual aspirants.[68] And in verse 3.35, a final enjoinment is made – stick to your *dharma*, however unpleasant it may appear and however comfortably you can be situated in the *dharma* of others, for it is better to die performing your *dharma* than to pursue the *dharma* of others, which is dangerous.[69] This verse is significant because *karma* and *dharma* the two key concepts of Hinduism are synthesized into one – a person's work is considered his highest duty or dharma. As *dharma* is defined as something that supports a person (*dhArayati yena sa dharma*), *karma* becomes the modus operandi of *dharma* in sustaining oneself in daily living. In other words, *dharma* is not an esoteric concept but performance of work of various kinds in our daily life.

Why to Work

As can be seen from the above, Canto 3 of the *bhagavadgItA* is clearly dedicated to the discussion of *karma* and is no surprise that it is labeled *karmayoga* by all commentators of the text as stated at the end of the Canto. To summarize, in the *bhagavadgItA*, *kRSNa* tells *arjuna* that his *karma* or work as a *kSatriya* was to fight and gives five compelling reasons why we all have to do our *karma* or work. The first argument, given in verse 3.4, deals with the philosophical issue of pursuit of *mokSa*. Just as one cannot become a *sannyAsi* or monk by simply entering into the order of *sannyAsa*, one cannot rise beyond *karma* (i.e., become *naiSkarmya*) by not starting activities. The goal in life is, of course, *mokSa* or liberation from the cycle of birth and death, and for that one has to become *naiSkarmya*. However, *naiSkarmya* is not about not doing activities. Therefore, even for *mokSa*, the ultimate goal of human life, one must work.

The second argument, given in the first line of verse 3.5, pertains to the physical world and our physical body. Human body is endowed with five *jnAnendriyas* (organs of knowledge or perception) and five *karmendriyas* (organs of action), which are coordinated by the *manas*[70] and *buddhi*.[71] The nature of these organs is

---

[67] Verse 3.33: *sadrizaM ceSTate svasyAH prakriterjnAnavAnapi*; *prakritM yAnti bhUtani nigrahaH kiMkariSyati*.

[68] Verse 3.34: *indriyasyendriyasyArthe rAgadveSau vyavasthitau*; *tayorna vazamAgacchettau hyasya paripanthinau*.

[69] Verse 3.35: *zreyansvadharmo viguNaH pardgarmAtsvanuSThitAt*; *svadharme nidhanaM zreyaH paradharmo bhayAvahaH*.

[70] We discussed in chapter four that *manas* is an Indian concept that cannot be captured by mind, since it is the locus of cognition, affect, and behavior.

[71] We discussed in chapter four that *buddhi* is an Indian concept, which has an important role in the pursuit of self-realization that cannot be accurately captured by intellect.

such that human body is simply not capable of existing without doing something even for a moment, and therefore we must work. With our eyes, ears, nose, tongue, and skin, we constantly see, hear, smell, taste, or feel something. Therefore, given any moment, we are doing something. The popular American saying, “Don’t just stand there; do something” exhorts people to be busy with some action, whereas this verse states that it is not possible to do nothing. In fact, this verse goes further and states that even in standing the person is doing something (i.e., he or she is standing and observing the environment). Thus, the second argument is that since we cannot exist without doing something, we may as well perform our *svadharma* or work that is prescribed by the social and cultural norms. It should be noted that in the Indian worldview, *svadharma* is supposed to be naturally meaningful, and *paradharma* or others’ work is dangerous (*bhayAvaha*), and thus cannot be meaningful.

The third argument, given in the second line of verse 3.5, is that everybody, in fact every living being, is under compulsion of its basic nature to work. The fish swim in water. The birds fly in air. The plants grow on earth or under water (e.g., coral reef) depending on their nature. Animals act according to their nature; for example, there is a wide variation in their eating behavior: some are vegetarians whereas others are carnivorous, and still others are omnivorous. Similarly, we all have some natural aptitude, which we acquire as we learn skills growing up in our family, society, and culture. Since our aptitude will invariably drive us into doing something that we are naturally good at (e.g., being an artist, an actor, a scientist, a manager, and so forth), we cannot get by without working, and therefore, we must work.

There are many examples in the Indian scriptures of how people have some natural aptitude. For example, *parzurAm* was a *brahmin* but a warrior by nature; *rAma* was a *kSatriya* but kind (or *saumya* or *mRdu*) by nature; *ekalavya* and *arjuna* were archers by aptitude; *bhIm* was a wrestler, good at mace (he was a *gadAdhara*), also an accomplished cook, and had a weakness for good food. Some of us like hot food, and others like mild food. Some of us like to work out, whereas others like to do yoga. Thus, there is much face validity to this argument that we are all driven by our natural aptitude to engage in some activities. This is similar to the Lutheran notion of vocation as a calling.

The fourth argument, given in the second line of verse 3.8, is about our social life. We are born and live in a society, and our life is like a journey, to use a metaphor, and like every journey this journey requires certain implements and has certain conditions. The argument is that we simply cannot move forward on this journey without doing work. The society expects us to take responsibility of ourselves and our family, it expects us to be a productive member, it expects us to fulfill the roles assigned to us, and so forth. Thus, to complete this journey of life one must work.

The fifth argument, given in verse 3.6, is more philosophical and builds on the above arguments. It is argued that in view of the above four arguments, it is simply not possible not to work and that in the extreme situation one may force the *jnAn* and *karma* organs to stop functioning. However, it is argued that in such a situation one is likely to still keep dwelling on various activities and work, which is being hypocritical. Therefore, instead of being a hypocrite, one must work.

How to Work

The *bhagavadgItA* goes on at length to suggest that the ideal way to perform our work is by offering the fruits of our endeavors to *brahman*. It goes on to define that yoga is mastery of one's work (*yogaH karmasu kauzalam*), somewhat different from the yogic definition of yoga (*yogazcittavRttinirodha*, or yoga is the control of the wandering of the *manas*), and also to define yoga as equanimity or balance in action (*samatvaM yoga ucyate*). These are insights that have a lot of face validity.

If we master what we do, it becomes less stressful, though the mastery process may be stressful. We all know that an expert craftsperson does not think about what he or she is doing and creates perfect products. An expert teacher intuitively knows what the students need and provides them the best learning experience. And similarly a skilled manager knows what situation calls for what technique to be effective. Mastery of our skills does help us perform at our best and without stress. This is consistent with the cognitive psychology literature where skill acquisition proceeds from declarative to procedural to automaticity (Anderson, 2000), which is also applicable to intercultural and other social skills (Bhawuk, 2001b). Mastery of the skill leads to the behavior to become habitual, which is effortless. This has also been referred to as the peak experience or flow in the Western psychological literature (Csikszentmihalyi, 1990).

Besides mastery of our skills, it is also important to maintain equanimity in our work and other aspects of life. Maintaining a balance in all kinds of duality – happiness and sorrow, success and failure, hot and cold, friend and foe, loss and gain, praise and insult, etc. – is necessary to be able to do our work perfectly. And these two *mantra*s (*yogaH karmasu kauzalam* and *samatvaM yoga ucyate*) translate into *niSkAma karma*, or work done without pursuing the fruits of our efforts, if we practice them regularly and cultivate detachment (*abhyAsena tu kaunteya vairAgyena ca gRhyate*, verse 6.35b). By taking our mind away from the fruits of our work, we are able to develop a mindset in which we leave everything up to *brahman* – if we get the fruit we thank *brahman*; if we do not we thank *brahman* for *brahman* knows best what we need. Thus, we can be transformed to have deep compassion and tolerance toward failure. "Failure? What is that?" This would be the likely response of a person in such a mindset. And clearly, such a mindset is averse to any stress. Thus, doing our work with equanimity leads to a stress-free life.

We do not have to "not try" to achieve organizational or personal objectives. That is not what the *bhagavadgItA* is suggesting since clearly *arjuna* is being motivated to engage in the battle. Instead, we are encouraged to work hard and to treat work with the same dedication that we show in worshipping the *devas* (*svakarmaNa tamabhyarcya*, verse 18.46b). At the same time, we are encouraged not to chase the fruits of our effort and are advised to offer them to the *devas*. Thus, *niSkAma karma* becomes a path of spiritual self-development.

Implications for Global Psychology

The fabled message of *niSkAma karma* of the *bhagavadgItA* simply suggests that we should neither work with our mind on achieving the fruits of our actions, nor become attached to *not doing* this work or only doing that work. Thus, according to the *bhagavadgItA* – work is to be performed for its own sake, not for its outcomes, and yet such a mindset should motivate one not to withdraw from action. Others have discovered this same principle in their own life across the oceans. For example, Dewitt Jones, a motivational speaker and a distinguished and celebrated photographer of the *National Geographic* presents the same idea as doing work "for the love of it," which is the title of his 30-min presentation available on DVD. To quote Dewitt Jones:

> I remember back in college, I saw the poet Robert Frost speak. Another very passionate man. For two hours he just held the audience in the palm of his hands, igniting us, inspiring us with his visions. And then he read from a poem called Two Tramps in Mud Time. He read words I'll never forget: 'My object in living is to unite, my avocation and my vocation; As my two eyes make one in sight; Only when love and need are one, and the work is play for mortal stakes, is the deed ever really done, for Heaven and the future's sake.' My object in living is to unite my avocation and my vocation. My vocation: what I had to do, what they paid me to do. My avocation: what I couldn't help but do; what I loved to do. As my two eyes make one in sight. At one level, Frost was saying loud and clear, do what you love! Follow your bliss; make your living doing those things that bring you joy. I don't think there's anybody who doesn't want to do that. And yet for many of us, probably most of us, it just doesn't turn out that way. But as I listened to Frost, I realized that he was showing me another way that I could unite my avocation and my vocation. I could do what I love. Or, I could love what I do. I could love what I do. I could just fall in love with the task at hand. I could do my job for the love of it.

What Dewitt Jones is proposing in his inspirational speech is not so different from *niSkAma karma* that the *bhagavadgItA* proposes, showing the possibility of a universal or etic in the construct of *niSkAma karma* or *karmayoga*.

Paul's instructions to the Colossians in the New Testament is also to work for God – And whatever you do in word or deed, do all in the name of the Lord Jesus, giving thanks to God the Father through Him (Colossians, 3.17). And whatever you do, do it heartily, as to the Lord and not to men (Colossians, 3.23). Knowing that from the Lord you will receive the reward of the inheritance; for you serve the Lord Christ (Colossians, 3.24). This idea was transformed by Martin Luther who gave everyday activity spiritual significance by coining the term *beruf* or calling and instructed people to perform their social roles (e.g., husband, wife, servant, master, or commoner) to the best of their ability as if that was their calling from God. Thus, the doctrine of *niSkAma karma* postulated in the *bhagavadgItA* is also supported in the Christian faith, and the convergence of these ideas should be taken as natural experiments occurring in different cultures confirming the same human insight if not truth, further indicating the possibility of a universal or an etic in this construct.

Another aspect of *niSkAma karma* is that it shifts the focus from the characteristics of the task to the attitude of the person, raising question about the universality

of the motivating potential of task characteristics namely, skill variety, task significance, task identity, autonomy, and feedback (Hackman & Oldham, 1976). It is known that many saints of India performed the most mundane and menial tasks of a weaver (Kabir Das), cobbler (Rai Das), petty storekeeper (Nisargadatta Maharaj), and so forth, but their work never limited them to achieve their spiritual potential. In fact, performing such tasks could be used as a test to ascertain for oneself if one has given up his or her desire for performing tasks that reflect social status or power. It would be interesting to examine if spiritual advancement is negatively correlated to what a person does for a living.

To take an extreme position, to be provocative, one could posit that a theory of meaningful work or social change is really futile if not meaningless, because social change can be chased ad nauseam without really obtaining the desired change. The failure of Marxism is one such example. True change could only come if we are the change that we desire to see in the society; we must change individually to bring about the change in the society. Following the wisdom of the *bhagavadgItA*, when one truly seeks the self or *Atman*, one works without the desire of the fruits of one's effort, and the energy that goes in struggling with the hindrances gets channeled toward calming the *manas* and *buddhi*, and one starts to accept and burn the *prArabdha* (or the circumstances that arise in our current life as the outcome of our own actions in the past lives). Following this process, we are able to effect change in the society because one self-realized person is one less random entity in the universe and the entropy of the universe decreases not infinitesimally but infinitely, albeit mystically rather than scientifically as physicist do their measurement.

In the Western literature, there is much talk about working smart, and it is often presented in opposition to working hard. Many books are available to help people to learn to work smart rather than hard (e.g., Taub & Tullier, 1998). Working hard can lead to stress and burnout, which working smart can avoid. The *bhagavadgItA* offers a different solution to the debate on working hard versus smart. It supports working hard, as hard as it takes to do a job, but it recommends that we do not covet or worry about the expected outcomes of the work. By doing so, work becomes pleasurable, and we would not get stressed out. Thus, by following the doctrine of niS*kAma karma* modern work stress can be avoided.

The *bhagavadgItA* presents an approach toward consuming the gifts of earth and our environment, which we have discovered to be fragile. It was noted (in verse 3.12) that *devas* or nature would fulfill the desires of people who perform proper action or *yajna*, and one should not consume anything without offering it to the *devas*. Thus, whatever is consumed becomes *prasAd* or gift of the *devas*. But a warning is issued that one should offer everything to the *devas* before consuming it; and what is consumed without offering it to the *devas* is tantamount to stealing. The message of the *bhagavadgItA* is for the humans to take responsibility of the environment and not to consume excessively, which is tantamount to stealing or forcing from the environment what it cannot afford to give. This perspective has important implications for ethical behavior toward our environment, a burning issue for humanity today.

Chapter 9
Epistemology and Ontology of Indian Psychology

As ecology and history shape culture, any discussion of the roots and practice of a discipline like psychology needs to be couched in the historical context since the present emerges from the interaction between the past and the *zeitgeist* (Bhawuk, 2003a, 2010; Liu, in press; Liu & Hilton, 2005; Triandis, 1994). It is important to do so as this would allow us to be objective about the role of colonialism and the *zeitgeist* of dominant logical positivism in shaping the way we view ourselves, our profession, and the knowledge we create. It would be ostrich like to try to bury the pathological consequences of colonialism and its impact on who we are, what we study, and how (Bhawuk 2007a, b; 2008a; Smith, 1999). However, delving too much in the history of colonialism and its impact on knowledge creation can also take away the freedom to break the fetters of intellectual colonization and soar in the indigenous space of insight and wisdom. In this chapter, an attempt is made not to ignore the history of colonization, but yet to look at the epistemology and ontology of Indian Psychology with an open eye on the Indian wisdom tradition, which is consistent with the advice of Yang (1997) that includes what to avoid as well as some positive guidelines for pursuing indigenous research.

Hwang (2004) cogently argued that for indigenous psychologies to emerge successfully from the yoke of Western psychology, researchers will need to make breakthroughs in three areas. First, they will need to reflect philosophically and not follow the Western philosophical positions on the meaning of modernization. Often it is assumed that the Big Bang of knowledge creation started with renaissance in the West in the fourteenth century. It is important to remember that China and India were the first world economically until 1760 and produced 75% of the world GDP (Bhawuk, Munusamy, Bechtold, & Sakuda, 2007; Kennedy, 1988). What is considered first world today was third world up to 1760. The cultural wealth in these countries has not been lost, and people in these countries only need to reorient themselves to their cultural paradigms, which is already happening. Second, researchers in these countries need to develop theoretical frameworks that capture their worldview. Finally, they need to test their models "empirically" using methodology, which are suitable to answer questions that are relevant in their cultural space; empirically does not mean following the logical positivist worldview and methodology. In this

D.P.S. Bhawuk, *Spirituality and Indian Psychology*, International and Cultural Psychology,
DOI 10.1007/978-1-4419-8110-3_9,

chapter, an attempt is made to address all three criteria presented by Hwang by deriving the epistemology and ontology of Indian Psychology.

Epistemology or theory of knowledge is about nature, origin (or source), scope (or limitations), and variety of knowledge, i.e., what knowledge is, how it is acquired, what its relationship to truth is (i.e., if the knowledge that we have is true, then we have knowledge; if not, it is no knowledge; so how do we know that we know the truth?), its relationship to belief (i.e., knowledge is true belief), and its relationship with justification (i.e., why and how do we know what we know, or how can we justify that we have the truth?) (Audi, 1998; Ayer, 1956; BonJour, 2002). On the other hand, ontology is about what the being is or the study of being. What is existence? Which entities are fundamental? What characteristics are essential as opposed to peripheral? Ontology answers these questions (Quine, 1948). Epistemology of Indian Psychology will be developed by deriving answer to these questions from the scriptures, by examining what knowledge is in the Indian worldview, and focusing on Indian Psychology as the study of that knowledge. Similarly, verses from the scriptures will be examined to address the ontological questions presented above. It should be noted that the meaning of *episteme* in ancient Greek was "knowledge," whereas in modern Greek it means "science" (Foucault, 2002). In this chapter, *episteme* is taken to mean knowledge rather than science.[1]

Indeed, epistemology and ontology can be dense and elaborate topics, often mind-boggling not only for young scholars but also for seasoned researchers. But it need not be so, at least not for Indian Psychology. The epistemology of Indian Psychology and philosophy merge with the general Indian worldview of knowledge, truth, and belief about making sense of the self and the world. An attempt is made here to derive the epistemological and ontological foundations of Indian Psychology from a verse in the *vedas*, and then they are corroborated by some verses in the *bhagavadgItA*. This is consistent with the recommendation of Chakrabarty (1994) to use "word as a source of knowledge (p. viii)," who lamented that "epistemically respectable scientific, historical, social and psychological information is constantly derived from intelligible statements made by others (p. 20)" yet "knowing from words has been largely neglected (p. vii)." Since the *bhagavadgItA* is a synthesis of all Indian ideas and wisdom (Radhakrishnan & Moore, 1957), if the ideas test out against this text, they could be considered reasonably sound. In what follows, the epistemology and ontology of Indian Psychology as derived from the classical texts are presented, and their role in constructing cultural meaning for theory, method, and practice is discussed.

[1] These definitional questions about epistemology and ontology have emerged from reading about them and discussing with many colleagues over the years. In a personal communication with two Greek colleagues, Nick Sydonius and Harry Triandis, it became clear that the meaning of *episteme* has changed over the years. In modern Greek, it does mean "science" rather than "knowledge," a clear departure from the time of Plato. However, there has not been such a shift in the meaning of ontology. It seems that the Western belief has shifted to accept only knowledge created by science as truth. This would be an important difference between Indian and Western cultures when we think about what knowledge is.

Deriving Epistemology and Ontology of Indian Psychology

In the very first verse of *yajurveda, IzopaniSad* [2] (i.e., *yajurveda* 40.1 or *yajurveda* verse 1959; Gambhiranand, 1972; Ishwarchandra, 2004), *dadhyaG AtharvaNa Rishi* presents the Indian worldview that can help clarify the epistemology and ontology of Indian Psychology: (1) Everything in this universe is covered by or permeated by its controller or *brahman*[3]; (2) Protect yourself through renunciation or enjoy through renunciation[4]; and (3) Do not covet or desire, for whose is wealth (i.e., all that is accumulated is left behind when one dies)? The verse answers the epistemological question of what knowledge is by stating that "Everything that is around us is covered by *brahman*." Alternatively, what is considered knowledge can be broken down into three parts: the controller, self and everything around the self, and the controller covering or permeating self and each of the elements around the self. Knowledge, it is implied, is not only knowing what we see around us in its variety as independent entities and agents, but to realize that each of the elements is permeated and controlled by *brahman*.[5]

Everything in this universe is covered by its controller also addresses the ontological quest – What is the being or self – by affirming that it is *brahman* or controller of the universe (see Figure 6.2). The self and everything in the environment is *brahman* because *brahman* permeates everything. Thus, epistemology and ontology merge in Indian psychology. "*brahman* exists and *brahman* is the being" addresses the ontology, and knowing this – *brahman* exists and permeates everything – addresses epistemology. In Western tradition, there is much concern about the

---

[2] *IszopaniSad* verse 1: *IzA vAsyamidaM sarvaM yatkiJca jagatyAM jagat; tena tyaktena bhuJjithA mA gRdhaH kasyasviddhanam*. The controller of the universe covers everything that is in the universe. Protect yourself by detachment or renounce and enjoy. Do not covet or desire, for whose is wealth?

[3] Controller is one of the attributes of *brahman* and not the only one. *brahman* cannot be captured by any one label, and so any attempt to describe it is avoided except when a sincere student approaches a teacher; and even then the teacher is quite circumspect.

[4] A plausible and inspiring interpretation of *tena tyaktena bhuJjIthA* is "enjoy through renunciation." We get this meaning if we translate *bhunJjithA* as "enjoy" instead of "protect," since *bhuJja* also means to enjoy (from *bhuj*). This is, after all, the spirit of *nishkAma karma* or *karmayoga* – being absorbed in the work to be doing it blissfully means to enjoy it, but not worrying about or even wanting the fruits of the work means renunciation. Put it another way, when one renounces the material life, then one is in-joy, as Sri Ram (1997) interprets the word enjoy. To be in joy one needs not to pursue wealth, and that is what is said next in the verse, for one who pursues wealth is motivated by greed and he or she never finds peach and happiness (*Srimad Bhagavatam*, 9.19.14). In the *bhagavadgItA*, this use of *bhuj* can be found in three places, in verses 2.5 (*bhU-Jjiya*), 3.13 (*bhuJjate*), and 15.10 (*bhuJjAnam*); and the meaning pertains to some form of enjoyment in each of these verses [Chaitanya, Personal communication (2009)].

[5] The Western readers can simultaneously translate *brahman* as God, if they can remember that *brahman* has many attributes that are similar to the Abrahamic God (Armstrong, 1993); yet the differences are no less significant.

conflation of epistemology and ontology (Sismondo, 1993), whereas in the Indian worldview they snugly fit together.[6]

It is in this spirit that in the *bhagavadgItA, kRSNa* instructs *arjuna* in verse 13.2 that the knowledge of *kSetra* (i.e., literally the field, which is referring to the body) and *kSetrajna* (i.e., one who knows the body) is the only knowledge.[7] The first two verses of the 13th Canto together provide the answer to the epistemological question in the Indian worldview. The wise (or those who know) know that (a) this body is said to be *kSetra*; (b) one who knows this body is said to be *kSetrajna,* and (c) *kRSNa* is the *kSetrajna* of all the *kSetras* or bodies. In *kRSNa's* opinion, the knowledge of *kSetra* and *kSetrajna* is the knowledge. These two verses elaborate the idea presented in the above verse from the *IzopaniSad.* These verses state that the universe is an amalgam or combination of three entities – human beings, the environment external to human beings (or *saMsAra*), and the controller (or *brahman*) of the universe. The verses declare that knowledge is the internalization of the idea that the controller is present in each of the innumerable elements of the universe including every human being. Here, the concept of *Atman* is tacitly introduced as *kSetrajna* and is equated to *paramAtmA* or *brahman*. Thus, in the Indian worldview, knowledge is realizing that *brahman* permeates everything in the universe and is present in human beings as *Atman*. In verse 13.11, it is further clarified that only this knowledge is to be considered as truth, and everything else is untruth.[8] In other words, the knowledge about the self or *Atman* is the unchanging knowledge or truth, and to be able to see the essence of this knowledge is the objective of life. Any knowledge other than such knowledge of self is *avidyA* (or ignorance or false knowledge).

This is further supported in the *bhagavadgItA* in Canto 18 in verses 20 and 21. In verse 18.20,[9] *kRSNa* tells *arjuna* that *sAttvika jnAna* or knowledge in the mode of goodness is one with which one sees oneness in the universe that is divided into multiplicity. With this knowledge, one experiences one entity in all beings, which neither decays nor goes through any change. In verse 18.21,[10] *kRSNa* describes

---

[6] It should not surprise us since *samatva* (i.e., balance or harmony) is at the core of the Indian worldview, and as researchers, we should have *samadarzan* or balanced view in ontology and epistemology.

[7] Verse 13.1: *idaM zarIraM kaunteya kSetramityabhidhIyate; etadyo vetti taM prAhuH ksetrajna iti tadvidaH*. O Kaunteya, the wise (or those who know) know that this body is said to be *kSetra*; and one who knows this body is said to be *kSetrajna*. Verse 13.2: *KSetrajnaM capi mAM viddhi sarvakSetreSu bhArata; kSetrakSetrajnayorjnAnaM yattajjnAnaM mataM mama*. And also know that I am the *kSetrajna* of all the *kSetras* or bodies. In my opinion (i.e., kRSNa's opinion), the knowledge of *kSetra* and *kSetrajna* is the knowledge.

[8] Verse 13.11: *adhyAtmajnAnanityatvaM tattvajnAnArthadarzanaM; etajjnAnamiti proktamajnAnaM yadato'nyathA*. Being constantly situated in the knowledge of *Atman* and experiencing *brahman* is said to be knowledge or *jnAna*, and all else is not knowledge or *ajnAna*.

[9] *bhagavadgItA* verse 18.20: *sarvabhUteSu yenaikaM bhAvamavyayamIkSate; avibhaktaM vibhakteSu tajjnAnaM viddhi sAttvikaM*. In all the beings, this knowledge leads to experiencing one undecaying and unchanging entity. Such a knowledge with which one sees the many forms of beings as one undivided entity is said to be in the mode of goodness.

[10] *bhagavadgItA* verse 18.21: *pRthaktvena tu yajjnAnaM nAnAbhAvAnpRthagvidhAn; vetti sarveSu bhUteSu tajjnAM viddhi rAjasam*. That knowledge with which one sees variety in all beings is said to be in the mode of passion.

rAjasik jnAna or knowledge in the mode of passion as one with which one sees everybody as a different entity with independent existence. This later kind of knowledge is the foundation of scientific knowledge, where a scientist is engaged in studying the world outside. In doing so, the scientist maintains the Cartesian duality of mind and matter, the observer is mind and the observed is matter, even when it is another human being.

We find that the scriptures take a very strong position here. Indeed, it is meant that the knowledge of *Atman* is the only knowledge, and all other knowledge is to be dismissed. For this reason, following the path of discovering *Atman* is likened to walking on a razor's edge. Much like an empirical scientist dismisses metaphysics as hocus-pocus, the scriptures dismiss the knowledge about the world as unimportant and a burden, if anything, for the sincere pursuant of *Atma-jnAna*. Is this a pompous and arrogant assertion of the wise ones who spoke from experience? The seers and the *rishis* were aware of this problem and unequivocally state in verse 9 of *IzopaniSad* that those who pursue the material existence enter into darkness, but those who pursue spirituality or *Atma-jnAna* enter into even deeper darkness. This idea is so important that it is paraphrased again in verse 12 by using *asaMbhUti* for *vidyA* and *saMbhUti* for *avidyA*.[11]

It is plausible that these verses are sending a warning to the aspirants of truth – those who follow *vidyA* have to watch themselves all their lives, which was one of Ramana Maharshi's instructions, and if they do not, the more advanced they were, the worse would be the lapse. That is why *kenopaniSad* says it beautifully in verse 2.3,[12] "It is known to him to whom it is unknown; he does not know to whom It is known. It is unknown to those who know well, and known to those who do not know (Gambhiranand, 1972, p. 61)." The pride that one knows, or that one is superior to those who do not know, can destroy one who follows *vidyA*. That seems to be the spirit of these verses from *IzopaniSad*.

We also know from tradition that those who know *brahman* act and live simply, and have nothing but compassion for every being and entity in the universe. The meaning of the two other verses of *IzopaniSad*, 12 and 14, is consistent with the above interpretation, since they unequivocally state that those of stable *buddhi* or intellect do not differentiate the two, *vidyA* and *avidyA* (or *asaMbhUti* and *saMbhUti*), but use one (*avidyA* or *saMbhUti*) to live in the world and the other (*vidyA* or *asaMbhUti*) to go beyond. This is about practice, not about the knowledge or epistemology. A wise person muddles through the *saMsAra* using *avidyA* and by focusing on the knowledge about *Atman* or using *vidyA* experiences *brahman*.

[11] *Ishopanishad* verse 9: *andhaM tamaH pravizanti ye'vidyAmupAsate; tato bhUya iva te tamo ya u vidyAyAM ratAH*. One who worships avidyA enters into darkness; but one who worships vidyA enters into even deeper darkness. *Ishopanishad* verse 12: *andhaM tamaH pravizanti ye'sambhUtimupAsate; tato bhUya iva te tamo ya u sambhUtyAM ratAH.* One who worships *asambhUti* (*prakRti* or unmanifested *brahman*) enters into darkness; but one who worships *sambhUti* (manifested *brahman* or *hiranyagarbha*) enters into even deeper darkness.

[12] *Kenopanishad* verse 2.3: *yasyAmataM tasya mataM mataM yasya na veda saH; avijnAtaM vijAnataM vijnAtamavijAnatAm*. Meaning is provided in the text above.

The experience of muddling through the *saMsAra* is the subject of much of classical Indian Psychology (see models derived from scriptures in Chapter 10) and should not be neglected in contemporary psychology either.

Returning to the verses 13.1 and 13.2 in the 13th Canto of the *bhagavadgItA*, we can find ontology lurking right behind epistemology. The being is *kSetrajna* or *Atman*, which is, as it were, a partial of *brahman*[13] (or *kRSNa*) and knows the *kSetra* or human being. It should be noted how self, environment, and *brahman* is ontologically synthesized into one whole spiritual entity here – everything originates from and enters into the formless *brahman.* Knowing that this is the only knowledge succinctly captures the epistemology. It is no surprise that Bharati[14] (1985, p. 185) suggested that self has been studied as "an ontological entity" in Indian philosophy for time immemorial, and "far more intensively and extensively than any of the other societies" in the East (Confucian, Chinese, or Japanese) or the West (either secular thought or Judeo–Christian–Muslim traditions).

The *bhagavadgItA* is said to be a *divya grantha*[15] or divine or wonderful treatise that synthesizes all Indian philosophical thoughts and ideas. Thus, we saw above how the dualistic *sAGkhya* concept of *prakRti* and *puruSa* are presented as *kSetra* and *kSetrajna* and synthesized with the *vedantic* monistic idea of *Atman* and *brahman*. Personally, I see the synthesis and do not have any problem following what *manusmRti* says: When the scriptures present contradictory ideas; both are right.[16] Indian philosophy and worldview is comfortable in accepting two contradictory ideas as true, and does not need to accept the law of the excluded middle in logic, which only allows

---

[13] To consider *Atman* a partial of *brahman* may be unacceptable to *advaita* thinking, but in the spirit of *om pUrNamadaH pUrNamidaM pUrNAt pUrNamudacyate; pUrNasya pUrNamAdAya pUrNamevAvaziSyate. om zAntiH* z*AntiH* z*AntiH.* That (supreme *brahman*) is infinite, and this (conditioned *brahman*) is infinite. The infinite (conditioned *brahman*) proceeds from the infinite (supreme *brahman*). Then through knowledge, taking the infinite of the infinite (conditioned *brahman*), it remains as the infinite (unconditioned *brahman*) alone (Gambhiranand, 1972, p. 2). Taking a partial out of *brahman* does not take *pUrNa* from *brahman* and yet it makes the *Atman* infinite. Can *Atman* be referred to as a "partial" when it is *pUrNa* or complete as stated in the above verse? Since an infinite partial of infinity can be called a partial without reducing much of its infinite potential, it should be all right to call *Atman* a partial of *brahman*. Both *Atman* and *brahman* remain infinite. Both Ramakrishna and Ramana Maharshi have used the metaphor of a salt idol entering the ocean and losing its identity to describe the meeting of *Atman* and *brahman*. Thus, the tradition does accept *Atman* as a partial of *brahman*, despite its infinite nature. It is perhaps a practical way of remaining modest in human existence without interfering with the design of *brahman*.

[14] The late Dr. Bharati was a Caucasian male from USA, who renounced the world and took *sannyas* (became a monk) following the Indian tradition, and changed his name to Agehanand Bharati. He was a well-known scholar of anthropology and an Indologist. It is important to know who he was to appreciate his comment quoted above.

[15] Ongoing personal communication with Dr. Ramanath Sharma, Professor of Sanskrit, University of Hawaii at Manoa.

[16] *manusmRti* verse 2.14: *zrutidvaidhaM tu yatra syattatra dharmAvubhau smRtau; ubhAvapi hi tau dharmau samyaguktau manISibhiH*. When two verses in the *zruti* contradict each other, both hold as *dharma* because both are pronounced valid by the seers.

good or bad to exist separately, not together, as discussed in Chapter 3 (Bhawuk, 2008a). In India, the Jains take it to another extreme in *syAd vAda* by presenting the idea that there are seven different possibilities to everything, and all seven are true! Thus, in India *cArvAka's* materialistic philosophy[17] that is different from the *vedantic* position is accepted by not only those who find it meaningful, but also those who do not subscribe to it, making the work of Indian psychologists so much more exciting by providing more variance in the worldview of the population.

The moral of this position is not to reject ideas that do not fit together, to reject one of them, or to force fit them, but to accept more than one truth, each in their own right, in their own context. Scholars will argue about it, and have done so in India, and that is why the Indian scriptures have wisely said, "*vAde vAde jAyate tattvabodhaH,*" or one learns the essence of knowledge through dialogue. Knowing is ultimately an experiential knowledge, not verbal. It should be noted here that there are many ontologies in Indian philosophy and so there should be many ontologies in Indian Psychology. Diversity in ideas and at the core of their being, in their ontology, is to be encouraged and cherished. That is the Indian tradition of scholarship. What is presented here still seems to capture the shared core of the Indian spiritual belief system and is worth reflecting on while thinking about the discipline of Indian Psychology and including it in the discourse on what Indian Psychology is.

There are two other verses in the *bhagavadgItA* that further clarify the epistemology of Indian Psychology. In verse 2.16,[18] *kRSNa* explains to *arjuna* that there is no existence of untruth and there is no dearth of existence of truth; and the wise have seen the difference between these two. In this verse, the epistemological issue – what truth is – is addressed. Truth is present everywhere; in fact there is no dearth of truth, or truth permeates the universe. Thus, truth is another expression of *brahman* that permeates the universe. What is more important is that there is no place for untruth in this universe, which stands to reason since truth or *brahman* permeates

[17] *cArvAka*'s philosophy is referred to as *lokAyat*, which is derived from *loka*, or the world, and is captured in a verse that is oft quoted in India and Nepal – *yAvajjivet sukhaM jivet; RNaM kRtvA ghRtaM pibet; bhaSmIbhUtasya dehasya punarAgamanaM kutaH.* As long as you live, live happily; borrow money and have *ghee* (clarified butter), which symbolizes good food and other material goods of consumption; when the body is burnt upon death, from where does it come back, or it does not come back. In other words, the world is what we see, and life is about pain and happiness. Enjoy the world. This is also captured in verse 16.8 in the *bhagavadgItA*, which states: *asatyamapratiSThaM te jagadAhuranIzvaram; aparasparasambhUtaM kimanyatkAmahaitukam.* In this universe, there is no such thing as truth, no principles of *dharma* (the world is socially constructed without any absolute principle guiding it), and no *Isvar* or controller of the universe (i.e., there is no *brahman*). The world is created by the copulation of men and women who are driven by desires and could not be for any other reason. Adi zankara in his commentary attributes this to the *lokAyat* (*lokAyatikadRSTIH iyam*) worldview.

[18] Verse 2.16: *nAsato vidyate bhAvo nAbhAvo vidyate sataH; ubhayorapi dRSto'ntastvanayostattv adarzibhiH.* There is no existence or presence of untruth, and no absence of truth, i.e., truth always exists everywhere. The wise see the difference between truth and untruth and their existence and nonexistence.

the universe leaving no room for untruth. Thus, what is *Atman*, nature (or *saMsAra*), and *brahman* is all the same is the epistemological conclusion of this verse. People who have realized this are the seers or the wise people for they have no confusion, not an iota of it, about the nature of the universe. They just know.

In verse 2.40,[19] it is stated that there is neither the loss of the result of action (or literally, loss of beginning or seed) when one follows a spiritual path, nor is there any adverse reaction for the spiritual effort; and that even a little effort saves one from the big fear, the fear of birth and death. This verse clarifies that if one believes in the received knowledge that the universe is permeated by *brahman,* that realizing *brahman* in self and nature is the goal of life, and makes effort to realize the self, one can never go wrong, since there are no adverse reactions and the effort never gets wasted. This is the lifetime warranty provided by the scriptures to encourage the pursuit of liberation or *mokSa* or *Atma jnAna*. The meaning of this verse is so clear that *Adi zankara* spends only 27 words to comment on this verse, one of the briefest commentaries on the verses that are laden with deep meaning.

Returning to the verse in *IzopaniSad*, establishing the epistemology and ontology (*IzA vAsyamidaM sarvaM yatkiJcajagatyAM jagat*), the verse presents the methodology (or the how to practice) to acquire this knowledge – Protect yourself through renunciation, or renounce and enjoy. Much has been written about the methodology, and many paths are available for the pursuit of self-realization (see Chapter 7 where *kAmasaMkalpavivarjana*, *karmayoga, bhaktiyoga*, *dhyAnayoga*, and *jnAnayoga* were presented as paths to self-realization), but the essence of all the paths is renunciation, and a new meaning of renunciation is presented in *IzopaniSad* – it is giving up of the idea of diversity and autonomy of elements of the universe, including human existence and agency, and acceptance of the presence of *brahman* in everything that constitutes the universe. Upon reflection, it is not hard to see that the essence of all the paths is captured in such a renunciation (renouncing desires, giving up agency, surrendering to the authority of *brahman*, experiencing *brahman* in everything as it permeates the universe, and renouncing the limited self-knowledge in knowing that *Atman* and *brahman* are one) that includes a complete surrender to *brahman*.

In Canto 13 of the *bhagavadgItA*, verses seven to ten present the characteristics that we need to cultivate to be able to learn this knowledge. These characteristics are all positive psychological elements including humility (*amAnitvam*), pridelessness (*adambhitvam*), nonviolence (*ahimsA*), tolerance (*kSAntiH*), simplicity (*Arjavam*), obtaining the blessings of a spiritual teacher (*AcAryopAsanam*), cleanliness (*zaucam*), steadfastness (*sthairyam*), self-control (*AtmavinigrahaH*), detachment in the sense pleasures (*indriyArtheSu vairAgyam*), without ego (*anahaGkAraH*),

[19] Verse 2.40: *nehAbhikramanazo'sti pratyavAyo na vidyate; svalpamapyasya dharmasya trAyate mahato bhayAt*. There is neither the loss of the result of action nor negative consequences of spiritual activities or *nizkAma karma*. Even a small effort (or good karma) helps to get over the big fear of life and death cycle. Madhusudana Saraswati explains *abhikrama* as "result acquired through action."

remembering the problems of birth, death, old age, disease, and miseries that go with the physical body to motivate oneself to think about the *Atman,*[20] without attachment (*asaktiH*), without association with son, wife, or home (*anabhiSvaGaH putradAragRhAdiSu*), always in a balanced *manas* or *citta* (or mind) when favorable or unfavorable consequences of actions arise (*nityaM ca samacittatvam iSTAniSTopapattiSu*), preferring solitude and having no desire to associate with people (*viviktadezasevitvam aratirjanasaMsadi*), and constantly offering unalloyed devotion to *kRSNa* (*mayi cAnanyayogena bhaktiravyabhicAriNI*).

Thus, the objective of life is to experience the ultimate ontological truth – self is *brahman* – and the way to pursue it is through renunciation captured by the 17 attributes presented in these four verses. In other words, epistemology or the Indian theory of knowledge is to be able to live and experience the ontological belief that *brahman* is in everything in the universe, and it is practiced through a meticulous lifestyle filled with positivity.

Finally, the verse in *IzopaniSad* also clarifies what it means to pursue the ultimate knowledge through renunciation in our social life. It forewarns not to be greedy and cautions that nobody owns the wealth, meaning that we leave whatever we accumulate in our life when we die. The message could be interpreted as the path of moderation, rather than that of frenzied accumulation. Thus, we see that in the epistemological and ontological context the verse helps construct social meaning of life by exhorting us to go beyond what has become a deep problem in our world today – greed and accumulation of material things.

A short 21-min video, *The Story of Stuff*,[21] captures this shocking problem facing our contemporary world. The video presents many facts to show how wasteful consumerism has become in the United States of America, which is generalizable to the rest of the world including India. It shows how consumerism is driven by greed to provide the consumers goods at the cheapest possible price, which inevitably leads to a global exploitation of resources, both material and human. Often the victims are people and environment in the poorest countries. The video effectively shows that the entire process is flawed with waste involved in extraction of materials, production of goods, packaging, sales, consumption, and finally in the disposal of the used or obsolete product. The film makes an interesting point about planned obsolescence, which basically means a fully functional unit is put out of use because it has lived its life, and perceived obsolescence, which means that people feel their perfectly functioning product is old and dated and they must replace it with a newer model. It is amazing that thousands of years ago a single verse in the *vedas* cautioned us about what we are facing today, when apparently then we had so little to accumulate, and also showed us a way to avoid it by pursuing the ultimate truth.

Of course, we have to take the epistemology, ontology, and the principles of how to practice in the cultural context and cannot impose these ideas on other cultures,

[20] *janmamRtyujarAvyAdhiduHkhadoSAnudarzanam*. Meaning provided in the text.

[21] Produced by Free Range Studios, Berkeley, California, 2007.

for ontological questions like "What is a being?" or "Who are we?" are always answered in the cultural context. Also, truth, knowledge, and beliefs, which constitute the elements of epistemology, are socially constructed; thus, they necessarily are cultural artifacts. This may seem like a relativist position and can be questioned and debated, but as psychologists delving in indigenous psychology we perhaps have no choice but to take the relativist position to allow free dialogue between disparate cultural beliefs about who we are, what truth is, and ways to learn it.

The above discussion has answered the questions that were raised at the outset about epistemology or theory of knowledge – what is knowledge, how is knowledge acquired, what do people know, and why do we know what we know. Even the question how do we know what we know is answered, in that we know it internally, and there is no need to demonstrate or explain it to others that we know, because the pursuit of knowledge is a personal journey that is not beholden to external acknowledgment, acceptance, or recognition. This question is addressed by the verse from *kenopaniSad* presented above. In the discussion of how do we know what we know in Indian philosophy or the validation of knowledge claims, the concept of *pramANa (pramA* literally means basis, foundation, measure, scale, right measure, true knowledge, correct notion, or accurate perception) is evoked. Indian Psychology could learn from them and use them where appropriate, which is briefly noted below.

In *vedAnta* and *mImAMsA,* six *pramANas* are proposed: *pratyakSa* or perception by the senses, *anumAna* or inference, *upamAna* or analogy (or comparison), *zabda* or *Apta vacana* (or verbal authority or revelation), *an-upalabdhi* or *abhAva-pratyakSa* (nonperception or negative proof), and *arthApatti* (or inference from circumstances). *nyAya* and *vaizeSika* admit the first four only, and *sAGkhya* and yoga use only three namely *pratyakSa, anumAna, and zabda* (e.g., *vedAH pramANAH* or the *vedas* are the authorities) (Aleaz, 1991; Radhakrishnan & Moore, 1957). Some scholars add *sambhava* (or equivalence), *aitihya* or (tradition or fallible testimony), and *cezTA* (or gesture) making nine types of *pramANas* (Monier-Williams, 1960). Clearly, there is some consistency in the epistemological foundation of the six major philosophical traditions of India, but they are far from being unanimous. However, it should be noted that they all do agree that freedom from death and rebirth is the goal of human existence, *Atman* moves from body to body following the *karmic* cycle, realizing *Atman* and its relationship with *brahman* (different schools look at this relationships differently) is knowledge, and once we have this knowledge or we know this eternal truth experientially, we would be set free or have *mokSa*. Jainism shares most of these fundamental concepts, and Buddhism also shares them only questioning the existence of *Atman*.

Thus, we can see that in a handful of verses in the *upaniSads* and the *bhagavadgItA*, which are in lucid concordance with each other, the epistemology and ontology of Indian psychology is captured. Having derived the epistemology and ontology of Indian Psychology from the scriptures, the original sourcebook of knowledge, now we can examine how meaning is constructed for theory, method, and practice of Indian Psychology in the background of this epistemology and ontology.

Theory, Method, and Practice of Indian Psychology

It is clear from the verse in *IzopaniSad* and the supporting verses from the *bhagavadgItA* that ontological questions about the being are addressed succinctly by stating that it is *brahman* that is the being; *Atman* is, as it were, a partial of it placed in the physical body in the environment (*jagat* or *saMsAra*) that is permeated by *brahman*. And the epistemological questions are addressed by stating in much detail that knowledge is about knowing *brahman*, which is the only truth to be justified by internal search and practice rather than external criteria. And many practices for learning this true knowledge are presented in the scriptures, which have been supported by the testimony of hundreds of saints and spiritual *gurus* over thousands of years (Bhawuk, 2003a; Chakrabarty, 1994). Indian Psychology, thus, is the study of people who hold this worldview, and it does permeate in our social interactions and work. We can see in the journey of Sinha (2010) that he started writing about Indian Psychology with suspicion and ended up seeing the truth and beauty in the ideas presented in the *upaniSads*. This is empirical evidence, albeit anecdotal, about how Indians think, feel, and act.

From both the ontology and epistemology of Indian Psychology, it is clear that Indian Psychology deals with one world, a unified cosmos of *brahman*, *Atman*, and *saMsAra* (or other elements of the universe) or *prakRti* and *puruSa*, the world in which *brahman* permeates every element of the universe including human beings. The Indian worldview stresses *jIvanmukti* or attaining liberation while living the human life, rather than getting liberation after death. Thus, the emphasis is on the integration of spirituality and material existence. The division often used in common language about the two *lokas*, *ihaloka* (this world, i.e., material world) and *paraloka* (i.e., the world beyond this human life or spiritual world), is a convention used to remind one of the ultimate truth and the knowledge that one should pursue while living in this world and is unlike the dualistic system found in the Western world where the two parts, mind and matter, are irreconcilable.

It should be noted that dichotomies (e.g., hot–cold, happiness–sorrow, and success–failure), trichotomies (e.g., *satva-rajas-tamas,* which can be used to classify *shraddhA* (or devotional reverence), *AhAra* (or food), *yajna* (fire sacrifice or other spiritual practices), *tapaH* (or penance), *dAna* (or charitable giving), and so forth as presented in the *bhagavadgItA*, Canto 16, verses 2–22), or other broader categorization or classification systems (e.g., *paJcha-bhUta*, and *paJcha-koza,*[22]) do exist in the Indian worldview, but invariably the message is that truth lies in synthesizing

[22] *paJcha bhUta* refers to the five elementary substances of water (*jala*), fire (*agni*), air (*vAyu*), earth (*pRthivi*), and space or ether (*AkAza*); and *paJcha-koza* refers to the Indian concept of self in which self is said to be made of five sheaths: *annamayakoza* (i.e., physical body, which is nourished by grains or *anna*), *prANamayakoza* (refers to breathing and the related bodily processes and their consequences), *manomayakoza* (i.e., related to *manas* or mind), *vijnAnamayakoza* (refers to the faculty that helps us evaluate and discriminate knowledge), and *Anandamayakoza* (refers to the metaphysical self that represents eternal bliss).

or balancing duality or the multiple parts in which the world may appear to be divided (Bhawuk, 2008a). Thus, theories, methods, and practices of Indian Psychology must be built on this fundamental principle of seeing the universe with harmony. Does this approach make it difficult to study social processes? Not at all, and in what follows examples will be presented to illustrate this.

Theories are simply of various kinds and vary in their scope capturing variables at different levels, micro, meso, and macro. Some address the essence of the universe like Einstein's *General Theory of Relativity*, which is a geometric theory of gravitation that describes gravitation as the geometric property of space and time; the *String Theory*, which is a microscopic theory of gravity that attempts to provide the fundamental structure of the universe; or *Newton's Laws of Motion*, which predict how bodies interact with force in our daily life. In psychology, Cook and Campbell (1979) proposed that some constructs operate at the micro level whereas others operate at macro levels and persuasively argued that some constructs can be understood at the macro level, and there is no need to explore the micro-level dynamics of the construct. It should be noted that the Western approach has, however, led to the neglect of the spiritual and experiential side of human experience at the cost of excessive emphasis on creating knowledge for the physical or the social world. Indian psychology clearly has to steer away from this artificial separation of the material and the spiritual.

Thus, there is scope for middle-range theories that can be used to understand and predict human behavior in the cultural context. There are many examples of this in the work of Sinha (2010), and some will be identified below for establishing this point. Similarly, the four *puruSArthas dharma* (or performing one's duties), *artha* (or earning money), *kAma* (or pleasure), and *mokSa* (or liberation) or the four phases of life of *brahmacarya* (the first 25 years of studentship or learning), *gArhasthya* (being a householder from the age of 25–50), *vAnaprastha* (retreating to the forest for leading a spiritual life at age 50), and *sannyAsa* (living a life of a mendicant from age 75) can be used to understand and predict human behavior in daily life. What is more important to note is that we can have theories in Indian Psychology that cover only the social aspects without any regard to *Atman* or *brahman*. We can also have theories that primarily concern themselves about the spiritual experience and practices. However, in the long run all strong theories in Indian Psychology are likely to be multilevel and particularly effective in connecting various levels of experience, from physical to social to the spiritual (see Chapter 4). Needless to say, theories and research questions will determine the methodology, and practice will guide research questions and be informed by new knowledge created by research.

In what follows, the relevance of the epistemology and ontology of Indian psychology is examined in the context of the emerging literature on Indian Psychology, particularly the special issue on Indian Psychology (Bhawuk & Srinivas, 2010). This discussion leads to some conclusions about what Indian Psychology is and what Indian Psychology is not; what Indian Psychology can be and what Indian Psychology cannot be; where Indian Psychology can go and where Indian Psychology cannot go, which are presented, not as definitive answers but as ideas for debate and dialogue.

Theories in Indian Psychology

Paranjpe's seminal and extensive work (1984, 1986, 1988, 1998, 2010) has demonstrated lucidly that there are already existing theories of self and cognition in Indian Psychology and that theories also exist in other areas of interest to psychologists. He made it quite clear that it is possible to bridge the East–West theoretical divide to the level that we can have a dialogue even if we cannot synthesize the two theoretical paradigms (1984, 2010). He also emphasized that there is value in starting with the Indian wisdom tradition, rather than starting with the Western theories, which is consistent with the work of many other Indian scholars (Bhawuk, 2008a; Rao, 2008; Sinha, 1980). Similarly, Rao (2010) showed that in yoga research, it may be more useful and meaningful to start with a theoretical position presented by *patanjali* and others, rather than build theory blindly following an empirical program of research. Further, Bhawuk (2010a) showed that models can be derived or extracted from the scriptures showing that a wealth of wisdom is available in various Indian classical texts waiting to be explored (see Chapter 10).

In his 45-year career, Sinha (2010) developed many theoretical ideas or psychological constructs like *Dependency Proneness* (*DP*), which is "a disposition to seek attention, guidance, support, and help in making decisions and taking actions in situations where individuals are capable of and justified to make up their own mind and act on their own (p. 99)." He notes that this idea simply jumped out of his cultural experience, and through a dozen or so studies done with many collaborators, he was able to define the construct and measure its antecedents and consequents, thus building a reasonable theory of *Dependency Proneness.* However, all along, his objective was to learn about *DP* so that it could be reduced because he still operated from the Western psychological perspective and failed to see the positive aspects of *DP* in providing emotional support or in collective decision-making and nurturing style of leadership. *Dependency Proneness* was also identified by other researchers (Chattopadhyaya, 1975; Pareek, 1968) as a key Indian construct.

Out of his work on *DP* emerged the theory of *Nurturant-Task* (*NT*) *Leader* (Sinha, 1980), when he noticed an anomalous finding that high *DP* people took greater risk if the supervisor expected them to do so, showing him a way to address *DP*. He was inspired by the *nitizloka* that parents should shower love on the children up to the age of 5, discipline them for the next 10 years, and treat them like friends when they turn 16. He also observed the cultural pattern of *ArAm* or the proneness not to work too hard. This observation became one of the basic assumptions for the theory of *NT Leader*. The second assumption for his leadership theory was another observation that unconditional support or nurturance turned the subordinates into unproductive sycophants.

Sinha spent a decade developing this theory and showed that effective leaders in India were not autocratic or participative as recommended by Western scholars, but *Nurturant-Task Leaders*. These leaders were found to be more effective for the subordinates who were dependence prone, status conscious, and *ArAm* seeking or not so work oriented. Such a leader was able to engage the subordinate in participation, but retained a moral superiority that was recognized by the subordinates rather

than being imposed by the leader. Thus, starting with his experience, observation of people around him, and the wisdom of the *nitizloka*, he was able to field an Indian theory of leadership that is well accepted nationally and internationally.

Sinha was able to further extend the *NT Leader* model to theories of organizational cultures; high *NT Leaders* create synergistic organizational culture, whereas weak *NT Leaders* create a soft organizational culture that is less productive and more prone to external manipulations by government, union, and other stakeholders often deviating from organizational mission and objectives. And this line of research further led to the discovery of the four aspects of the *Indian Mindset* – *materialistic*, *dependent prone*, *collectivist*, and *holistic* – with much regional variations suggesting that Indian Psychology is varied and multicultural.

Thus, Sinha has crafted a body of knowledge that clearly marks the boundary of Indian Psychology in the social psychological area. His work shows that one does not need to start with the *vedas* or the *upaniSads* to derive Indian psychological constructs, as he has successfully used his observations of the culture to identify constructs, and have named them when appropriate using Indian terminology (*ArAm* culture, *apaney-parAye*, *sneha-zraddhA*, etc.). When a natural Indian term did not exist, he used English terms like *Dependency Proneness*, *Nurturant-Task Leader*, and so forth. His extensive research work has made future research direction really easy – one should study whatever he or she is interested in, which pertains to Indian social psychology, and one is likely to be successful in developing theories of Indian Psychology. What should also be noted, however, is that his regard for the wisdom in the *upaniSads* is unconditional, and so he is encouraging young scholars to start with constructs in the classical texts, if they can use it meaningfully.

Methodology for Indian Psychology

Paranjpe (2010) showed that many processes in Indian Psychology require observation and analysis of the subjective and within-person information. This is particularly true for those experiences pertaining to spiritual practices and experiences (Rao, 2010). On the other hand, in Western psychology, the focus is primarily on the study of the other, and thus the empirical paradigm that lends itself to the observation of the other is more appropriate. From Sinha's long career (Sinha, 2010), four interesting observations for Indian Psychology and methodology can be culled.

First, from Sinha's experience in trying to publish Indian ideas in Western journals, it becomes clear that the sociology of knowledge creation in India is different from that in the West. In the West, research culture is tighter and allows little or no freedom to researchers to deviate from what is considered standard practices. For example, despite strong psychometric properties, Sinha's papers were not accepted by the Western journals because the reviewers were always able to point some methodological or conceptual limitations in the study, and often the constructs like

Dependence Proneness did not make sense to the Western reviewers. On the other hand, the research culture is much looser in India as people are more open to accommodating variation in conceptualization and method. Clearly, science is tight, whereas human experience is loose, and this gets further reflected in Indians having a holistic approach to research, whereas in the West, people value research broken into small pieces leading to testing one hypothesis at a time. This is also reflected in my experience (Bhawuk, 2003a, 2008a, 2010a), and so it appears that there are major differences between Western and Indian research enterprises, much like their cultures.

Second, there was clear shift toward nonexperimental research as seen in the first 15 years of Sinha's career. Sinha (2010, p. 103) stated, "*I was indeed grounding myself into the Indian issues, digging out new ideas, and publishing them that, I thought, brought new facets of the Indian reality to the notice of other psychologists. I was becoming more Indian probably by shedding my earlier introjected American perspective.*" The issue is simply not about method, experimental or otherwise, but about research questions. The questions asked by Indian psychologists, if they keep close to the reality of Indian society, are likely to be different from those in the West. Methodology should follow the demand of the research questions, rather than researchers manufacture questions that fit the experimental methodology. Thus, the message for the Indian Psychology is quite clear: Address research questions that are grounded in the Indian milieu, using methods that make sense to address the research problem, rather than fit into the 2×2 designs to fit in the Western journals.

Third, Sinha (2010) has demonstrated the value of informal and indirect interview, which requires sharing of information that does not happen otherwise. In India, respondents are found to have two sets of responses, one for official record, which is not the true story, and the other what they actually know to have happened in the organizations, often completely the opposite of the first one. Participants are also found to respond to questions better when approached indirectly and are often defensive when the questions are posed directly. Participants are even willing to show confidential files when a rapport is established through informal dialogue. Sinha (2010) shares a trade secret – it is better to first observe and then ask questions since the questionnaire often draws socially desirable response to make the organization and managers look good, but the actual behaviors are often different. Sinha also informs us that respondents go back and forth when responding to questions, "as if the items were not discrete but interrelated and hence had to be responded in an integrated way." Thus, it is clear that asking questions of the research participants is not the same in India, and only by documenting these practices are we likely to establish a methodology that will work for Indian Psychology.

Finally, Sinha (2010) discovered another characteristic of Indian research methodology: often more than one person will respond when the researcher is talking to a person. The Western concept of privacy and individual response is not appreciated in India. People usually hang around and respond to the questions, as if they were all in a focus group and may interrupt, correct, add, and elaborate responses by adding new information, pointing out antecedent factors, and describing

consequences of different behavior. This leads to obtaining scenarios or episodes constructed by a group of people rather than an individual. Disagreements would need to be resolved by using other sources of data, thus showing the necessity of multimethod approach to research. In this approach having some loose ends is inevitable, and making use of familiar statistical tools may be difficult, if not impossible. We need to appreciate research just as life is – messy. Thus research is going to be messy and may not always fit into the experimental paradigm. Clearly, Indian Psychology is holistic and much innovation will be needed to meet the research need of people in India. In Chapter 10, various approaches to model building from scriptures and classical texts are presented and discussed showing how qualitative methodology can be used effectively in Indian Psychology.

Practice of Indian Psychology

It is clear that the researchers who are doing research to address the Indian ethos find Indian Psychology inspiring. Sinha (2010) stated that he felt like "having a missionary zeal" to discover cultural facets and was ever ready to refute the Western constructs hoping to turn around Indian psychological research. Paranjpe (1984, 1986, 1988, 1998, 2010) has been bridging East and West, despite often being a lone voice in Canada and the United States. Rao (2010) noted how he has migrated from following the barren empirical paradigm in Parapsychological research to exploring the theory-rich area of yoga research with excitement. Bhawuk (2010a) noted how his personal life and research career have a natural symbiosis, and his career has far from suffered despite the lack of appreciation from many quarters in his institutional existence in the United States. And Dalal (1996, 2002), Misra (2004, 2005, 2006, 2007; Misra & Gergen, 1993; Misra & Mohanty, 2002; Dalal & Misra, 2010), Cornelissen (2008), Kumar (2008, 2010), and Varma (2005) have all committed to Indian Psychology in their individual research programs. We can see quick practical applications of Indian psychological research in the work of Sinha, and two are noted below.

Professor Durganand Sinha's observations led Sinha (2010) to propose that India needed to utilize people's collective orientation for its growth since people are always consulting each other about what seeds to use, when to prepare the field, who to marry their son or daughter, when to go to visit a holy place, and so forth. He enthusiastically presented Indian Psychology as a policy science, presenting the idea that economic development should be channeled through human development. He started a journal, *The Social Engineer*, to meet this objective, which is in its 14th year of publication. He got sucked into studying and writing about Indian cultural constructs rather unwillingly ("*I used to suspect that such a past oriented preoccupation would distract me from exploring the social reality in terms of contemporary factors such as poverty, people's habits, and social systems*," Sinha, 2010, p. 106), but writing ten or so papers for *Dynamic Psychiatry* converted him and he began to appreciate the resilience and relevance of the ancient Indian wisdom. He found that concepts like *cosmic collectivism, hierarchical order,* and *spiritual orientation* were quite meaningful and relevant to contemporary social behavior. Not only we see

here policy implications but also how he personally took action by starting a journal that could serve the world of practice through research. He was fascinated by the *upaniSads* since they differentiate ideas and then integrate them together, unlike the Western methodology that favors differentiating constructs and studying them in isolation (Bhawuk, 2008a). The resulting fascination for the *upaniSads* that was born in him could be viewed as the ultimate reward for doing research in Indian Psychology.

Developing a taste for the Indian wisdom led Sinha to examine social processes from a cultural perspective, and he noticed that Indians would use coercive power for outgroups or *parAye* and referent power more frequently for ingroups or *apane*. He discovered that power relationship in India was two-way where the superior provided *sneha* or affection, and the subordinate offered *zraddhA* or devotional deference to the superior. Giving resource to subordinates was akin to *dAn* (or charitable giving), in which Western observers saw power ploy, but he postulated that "*dAn* empowers both the donor and the recipient by creating a social norm of sharing resources." By giving *sneha* to the subordinate, the superior starts the process, and extracts *zraddhA* from the subordinate, thus empowering both, making the relationship transformational rather than transactional. We can see that starting from cultural wisdom always leads to indigenous models that are useful in understanding the daily behaviors of people. It is for theories like this that Kurt Lewin said, "There is nothing as practical as a good theory." Such indigenous theories of social behavior also have better explanatory and predictive value than borrowed Western models.

It should be noted here that the law of requisite variety states that the internal environment of an organization should have enough distinctive characteristics in order to deal with the variability of external environment (Ashby, 1958). It is apparent that Indian culture is characterized by a holistic worldview, is able to live with contradictions and is not limited to the law of the excluded middle, is diverse, and values spirituality so much that every walk of life is influenced by it. To meet the need of such an external environment, it is necessary that the research enterprise be multiparadigmatic, adopt multiple methods, and allow the expression of looseness in research as much as it is present in the daily life of people (Bhawuk, 2008a). Adopting the Western experimental paradigm will simply not fit the reality of Indian life and ethos. Thus, theories and methods will need to be open to this reality of Indian culture if meaningful interventions can be employed to serve people in any domain.

Characteristics of Indian Psychology

Where does all this lead Indian Psychology? It may be useful to examine what scholars in other cultures have done about indigenous psychology. For example, Yang (1997) has developed a list of "seven nos" that a Chinese psychologist, or by extension any indigenous researcher, should not do so that his or her research can become indigenous. The nos include uncritical adoption of Western psychological theory,

constructs, and methodology; mindless adoption of pseudoetic approach of cross-cultural psychology; neglect of other indigenous scholars in one's own culture; use of concepts so broad or abstract that they become impractical to use; to think of research problem in English or a foreign language first; to overlook the Western experience in developing theories and methods; and to politicize indigenous research.

Yang (1997) also presented ten positive approaches for conducting indigenous psychological research, which are meaningful and relevant here: need for tolerance for ambiguity in theory building and to allow indigenous theories to emerge much like it is done in the grounded theory approach; allowing indigenous ideas shape one's thinking; grounding research ideas in concrete indigenous contexts; to focus on culturally unique constructs and theories; thorough immersion in the cultural setting; focus both on content and process or structure and mechanism of the target behavior; be grounded in indigenous intellectual tradition; to focus on both the classical and the contemporary constructs; to search for contemporary applications of classical ideas; and examining the behavioral setting before borrowing from Western psychology.

Building on the recommendations of Yang (1997), the following characteristics of Indian Psychology seem to be emerging. These ideas sometimes support what Dalal and Misra (2010) presented, but sometimes they are in opposition to what they submitted. The goal is not to resolve the differences and create a monolithic idea of what Indian Psychology is or should be. The objective is to welcome different ideas that may all be true in specific contexts and to have dialogues. As mentioned earlier, that is the Indian tradition of scholarship, and Indian Psychology should continue this tradition. Eight important ideas about Indian Psychology are summarized in what follows, and agreement or disagreement among researchers is noted.

First, spirituality is at the core of the Indian ethos. However, Indian Psychology is not, and cannot be, limited to research on spirituality, yoga, or consciousness only. We have to study the psychology of the *gRhasthas* who have *kAma*, *krodha*, *lobha*, *moha*, *matsara*, and also the positive qualities. That is where rubber meets the road for Indian Psychology. However, Indian Psychology should strive to develop theories that bridge the physical, social, and the spiritual experiences of human beings in a systematic way to produce multilevel theories that do not sacrifice one for the other.

Second, Indian Psychology is of the people (Indians), by the people (Indians), and for the people (Indians). Here "Indian" refers to the identity aspect of people.[23] If I feel Indian, I am Indian. And I am also Nepali and American, engineer and professor, son, brother, husband, and father, brown in skin color (with all its

[23] Some Indian Psychology scholars are of the opinion that Indian Psychology was never intended to be psychology of only Indian people, whatever the term may mean. It is since the beginning a-temporal and universal in nature as stated in the classic texts. I respect this view, but would like to disagree with it. I think Western psychologists, especially the logical positivists, have the same view about the mainstream Western psychology that it is universal and applicable to all human beings. Cross-cultural psychologists also take this perspective by making a small concession that there are emic or culture-specific representations of etic or universal constructs and psychological processes. I think the concept of universals and search for universals need to be examined carefully, without regard to whether it is coming from the West or the East, albeit with a spirit of dialogue.

benefits and disadvantages!), and so forth. So, *cArvAka*'s psychology is as much Indian Psychology as *Adi zankara's*; Dhirubhai Ambani's psychology is as much Indian Psychology as Gandhi's; *sati ansuyA*'s psychology is as much Indian Psychology as Kasutraba's or Parveen Babi's (the starlet and actress of Mumbai who lived together with Danny Denzongpa publicly in the 1970s). *rAm-lakSamaNa*'s psychology is as relevant to Indian Psychology as is the Ambani (Mukesh-Anil) brothers'. *rAvaNA*'s psychology is as important for Indian Psychology as is *rAma's*.

We have no choice but to study every aspect of Indian life, people, and society from psychological perspectives. In other words, as a discipline it is a field of knowledge that captures every aspect of India when it comes to psychology. I also think that some Indians are correct in being logical positivists, and they should continue to be so. They do generate laws that are good for the box they work in. My only request to them would be, if possible, not to think that their box is the only show in town. So long as they do not tell others to do what they do, and do not control the resource to penalize Indian Psychology researchers for doing what they value, right or wrong is only a matter of perspective, we can continue to have a dialogue.

Third, insights from Indian classical texts as well as folk traditions must be used to build and develop theories. There should not be any reservation about calling a model derived from the *bhagavadgItA* or the *upaniSads* "Indian." This also means that models derived from Buddhist and Jain texts, principles derived from the *Guru Granth Sahib,* the *Quran* and Bible as they are understood and practiced in India, or the Sufi tradition would all be "Indian," as Indian as any models derived from the Hindu texts.

Fourth, philosophy and psychology are not and should not be divorced as disciplines, and theories and methods should be derived from the Indian worldview grounded in Indian philosophy. We should be open to multiple epistemologies and ontologies and not impose our favorite one as the only alternative.

Fifth, the humanistic approach to research fits naturally with Indian Psychology in contrast to the scientific approach. Indian Psychology is more accepting of what knowledge is without prejudice to how it is created than the West where experimental method rules and everything else is suspect. This may be a cultural difference between the USA (or the West) and India (or the East). But it is a significant difference that calls for Indian Psychology researchers to deviate from Western psychology in method, content, and theory.

In a related vein, and to put it strongly, yoga is not science (Bhawuk, 2003b).[24] It has become quite popular to call everything a science: science of God (Schroeder, 1998), science of mind (Homes, 1926), science of *kRSNa* consciousness (Prabhupad, 1968), science of self-realization, and so forth. The characteristics of science were

[24] Again, there are many Indian Psychology scholars who take the position that yoga is science, and I respect their perspective but do not agree with them. The method of science is different from that of yoga, because science looks outside the individual, and yoga looks inside the individual. It is not impossible to bridge the two, but it is not as easy as it seems. Again, I am taking an extreme position to start a dialogue rather than to impose my position on others.

noted and contrasted against the Indian worldview in Chapter 3. Suffice to say that most of these characteristics do not apply to yoga, self-realization, or any other path or method of internal journey, which is subjective in nature. It does not make sense for yoga to aspire to be science; instead, perhaps, science should aspire to be holistic like yoga. Adopting a multiple paradigmatic approach to research in Indian Psychology and encouraging multiple methods, which was discussed at the end of Chapter 3, might be the best way to move forward.

Sixth, there is a social psychology that is relevant to Indian society, which may add to our understanding of general human social psychology, but nevertheless is more relevant and useful to people of India. Social psychology can derive from the insights present in ancient and medieval texts. Similarly, industrial and organizational psychology can derive constructs and solutions for managers from insights present in the texts that guide and counsel kings and rulers about how to lead people. Useful insights and models can also be obtained from modern managers (see Wilson, 2010).

Seventh, there are many constructs (e.g., *antaHkaraNa*, *ahaGkAra*, *buddhi*, *manas*, A*tman*, and so forth) that are useful to the Indian population, and hence to Indian Psychology, but may not be so useful to other people in other parts of the world. Thus, one could argue that there are some emic constructs in Indian Psychology, and these should not be presented as universals. On the other hand, if Freudian constructs of id, ego, and superego can be employed across cultures, despite lack of cross-cultural validity for them, it is plausible that constructs like *antahkaraNa*, *ahaGkAra*, *buddhi*, *manas*, and A*tman* could also be used across cultures. This can be debated ad infinitum, but could be productively left to the discretion of researchers and the research questions they pursue.

And finally, India and Indian people have lived for thousands of years without Western psychology and can do so today and in the future. This is not a call for rejection of Western psychology. It is a call to get strong in one's indigenous worldview to be able to deal with ideas from other cultures with strength, rather than by constantly apologizing for what may be the strength of one's culture as its weakness as viewed from the Western perspective. Once such an Indian Psychology is developed in its own right, cross-cultural psychology and comparative work can begin. Standing on its own foundation, and thus existing in its own right, is necessary for cultural or indigenous psychologies to develop.

It may be worthwhile to briefly dwell on the colonial history of India by reflecting on what Thomas Babington Macaulay, popularly known as Lord Macaulay, had to say about India, its culture, education system, and how to educate Indians to become more like the British. His ideas were instrumental in changing the education system of India, which followed the British system since 1835.

> I am quite ready to take the Oriental learning at the valuation of the Orientalists themselves. I have never found one among them who could deny that a single shelf of a good European library was worth the whole native literature of India and Arabia. The intrinsic superiority of the Western literature is, indeed, fully admitted by those members of the Committee who support the Oriental plan of education (p. 109). … It is, I believe, no exaggeration to say, that all the historical information which has been collected from all the books written may be found in the most paltry abridgments used at preparatory schools in England (p. 110). … The literature of England is now more valuable than that of classical antiquity

> [i.e., ancient Greeks and Romans]. I doubt whether the Sanscrit literature be as valuable as that of classical antiquity … [or] that of our Saxon and Norman progenitors (p. 111). … Within the last 120 years, a nation which had previously been in a state as barbarous as that in which our ancestors were before the crusades, has gradually emerged from the ignorance in which it was sunk, and has taken its place among civilized communities. –I speak of Russia. There is now in that country a large educated class, abounding with persons fit to serve the state in the highest functions, and in no wise inferior to the most accomplished men who adorn the best circles of Paris and London (p. 111). …The languages of Western Europe civilized Russia. I cannot doubt that they will do for the Hindoo what they have done for the Tartar (p. 112). … We must at present do our best to form a class who may be interpreters between us and the millions whom we govern; a class of persons, Indian in blood and color, but English in taste, in opinions, in morals, and in intellect. To that class we may leave it to refine the vernacular dialects of the country, to enrich those dialects with terms of science borrowed from the Western nomenclature, and to render them by degrees fit vehicles for conveying knowledge to the great mass of the population (p. 116). (Quote from Macaulay's Minute on Education, dated February 2, 1835, which was approved by the Governor General of India, William Bentinck on March 7, 1835. Cited in Sharp, 1965; also Otto, 1876, pp. 353–355).[25]

There were other distinguished scholars like Max Muller, Max Weber, Monier Monier-Williams, and others who made similar disparaging remarks about Indian culture. In view of this history of dominance, denying the history of colonialism and the mindless acceptance of Western psychology that followed will not help because psychology is already westernized and by adding Indian concepts we only create a local flavor. However, wholesale rejection of Western ideas will also not work, for the *zeitgeist* of globalization requires paying attention to other indigenous psychologies including the Western indigenous psychology driven by logical positivism. In fact, acceptance of Western psychology and logical positivism, without prejudice, as one of the streams of research within Indian Psychology could strengthen Indian Psychology, since the Indian culture is able to flourish and blossom by nurturing contradictory ideas in its fold. If *cArvAka*'s philosophy can persist in India, there is room for Western psychology and its material monism, not as the only truth but as a paradigm, albeit limited, of psychological research.

Implications for Global Psychology

Hwang (2004) proposed that there are two microworlds, the scientific-world and the life-world, and each is associated with a special type of knowledge. Western approach to knowledge creation resides in the scientific microworld, whereas the traditional knowledge creation in China following the wisdom tradition has been focused on the life-world, which is generally true for other Eastern cultures.

[25] Lord Macaulay's Minute on Education is also available on the internet at the following sites: http://www.columbia.edu/itc/mealac/pritchett/00generallinks/macaulay/txt_minute_education_1835.html http://www.mssu.edu/projectsouthasia/history/primarydocs/education/Macaulay001.htm.

He posited that to create objective knowledge indigenous psychologies must construct theories and conduct empirical research following the paradigm of the scientific world. I think that though categorizing may be a universal process, Indian worldview is clearly focused on synthesizing categories in a whole. In the West, the objective of categorization is to study the phenomenal world by breaking it into parts. It then proceeds to study the parts, and then adds them up to understand the phenomenal world; the parts are independent of each other (and need not be added together) and are true in their own rights. In the Indian worldview, the categorization is also done to understand the phenomenal world in bits and pieces, and they are true in a limited sense in their own way, but truth lies in the synthesis of all the bits and pieces together. Rather than studying them separately, as Hwang proposed, Indian Psychology would approach the synthesis of the two microworlds.

In the Indian worldview, social knowledge sometimes has a bearing on the metaphysical or the mystical, but that does not make it less useful or valid. It is open to and allows for diversity of ideas and theories, and one is likely to say, "If it is true for you, it is the truth; you don't have to believe in what I experience as the truth." If human beings were (some think they are!) spiritual beings (soul with body rather than body with soul, as some argue!), why should our knowledge be limited to only objective, rational, and scientific in the logical positivist sense? Why should we not think boldly, speculatively as our Western colleagues would say, of our experience in totality to get to the meaning of life, rather than live in broken worlds, which we seem to have become both internally and externally, thanks to the holy grail of science! Indian psychology deviates from the fractured model of indigenous psychology that Hwang (2004) proposes and strives to integrate different worlds and worldviews in research and practice.

It would be appropriate to conclude with traditional Indian wisdom. *Adi zankara* uses the metaphor of pitcher in two ways in *vivekcudAmaNi*. He uses the pitcher to explain that the sky in the pitcher is the same as the sky outside the pitcher, and it is only the pitcher that separates the two skies, which when broken the two skies become one as they always were (verses 288, 385). He also uses the pitcher to point out that the pitcher is nothing but the formless clay taking a form, and the form is only a transitional state; it was clay before the form was crafted, and it will be clay after the form is taken away (verses 190, 228, 229, 251, 391). Indian psychology needs to navigate the psychological space with the same adroitness so that, to use another metaphor, the core and the periphery are one and the same like a wheel of fire made by a revolving torch, where the core is the ontological being, the *brahman* or reality (verse 227), and the periphery is the journey of *Atman* in human body traversing through *saMsAra*, as captured by empirical findings that are the innumerable forms of reality or fragments of reality, not real yet real, and for sure beautiful. The search for the theory of knowledge that has a balanced perspective (or *samadarzan*) on the seamless existence of this one world that appears nested in multiple levels seems to be the epistemological goal of Indian Psychology (verse 219) and as verse 393 asks, "*kimasti bodhyam*," really, what else is there to be known?

Chapter 10
Toward a New Paradigm of Psychology

Watson (1913) noted that "Psychology, as the behaviorist views it, is a purely objective, experimental branch of natural science, which needs introspection as little as do the sciences of chemistry and physics. It is granted that the behavior of animals can be investigated without appeal to consciousness. …The position is taken here that the behavior of man and the behavior of animals must be considered on the same plane; as being equally essential to a general understanding of behavior. It can dispense with consciousness in a psychological sense. The separate observation of 'states of consciousness' is, on this assumption, no more a part of the task of the psychologist than of the physicist. We might call this the return of a nonreflective and naïve use of consciousness. In this sense, consciousness may be said to be the instrument or tool with which all scientists work. Whether or not the tool is properly used at present by scientists is a problem for philosophy and not for psychology (p. 176)." We see the foundation of separation of psychology and philosophy being laid in such assertions by established psychologists of those days. Watson (1913) worked hard to make psychology a science like other sciences, which can be seen in the following quote: "This suggested elimination of states of consciousness as proper objects of investigation in themselves will remove the barrier from psychology, which exists between it and the other sciences. The findings of psychology become the functional correlates of structure and lend themselves to explanation in physico-chemical terms (p. 177)." Thus, the journey for psychology to go away from philosophy and to become a part of natural science began during the turn of the last century, and scholars were willing to go to the extent of eliminating consciousness and cognition from psychology, which is now trying to find its way back with marginal success.

It is clear that Western psychology has completely divorced itself from philosophy. Contrary to this, the Indian psychological movement has made a conscious decision to keep the two disciplines of psychology and philosophy connected to be able to tap into the rich Indian philosophical tradition that is full of psychological insights. Theory building not only serves to predict future behavior but also aids in understanding behaviors and phenomena. Moore (1967) insisted that "genuine understanding must be comprehensive, and comprehensive understanding must include a knowledge of all the fundamental aspects of the mind of the people [i.e., psychology] in question. Philosophy is the major medium of understanding, both because it is concerned

D.P.S. Bhawuk, *Spirituality and Indian Psychology*, International and Cultural Psychology, DOI 10.1007/978-1-4419-8110-3_10, © Springer Science+Business Media, LLC 2011

deliberately and perhaps uniquely with the fundamental idea, ideals, and attitudes of a people, and also because philosophy alone attempts to see the total picture and thus includes in its purview all the major aspects of the life of a people (pp. 2–3)." Thus, the Indian scriptures, which are the depository of Indian philosophical thoughts, have an important role to play in the development of Indian psychology.

Moore (1967) distilled 17 themes from a thorough study and analyses of Indian philosophical thoughts. The most important theme, he concluded, was spirituality – "a universal and primary concern for, and almost a preoccupation with, matters of spiritual significance (p. 12)." In stating how closely Indian philosophy is related to life, the general agreement seems to be that truth should be realized, rather than simply known intellectually. This further emphasizes and clarifies spirituality as the way of living to not merely know the truth but become one with the truth (Sheldon, 1951). Thus, the approach to truth is introspective (captured by the three-pronged process of *zravaNa* or listening to a teacher, *manana* or reflecting on the ideas, and *nididhyAsana* or thinking deeply on the idea[1]) rather than outwardly observation and analysis of self, the environment, and the interaction between the two (see the top part of Figure 6.1). Not only morality, pleasure, and material welfare but even ethics is considered secondary to the spiritual pursuit of self-realization (Moore, 1967).[2] Thus, spirituality emerges as the highest desideratum of human living and pursuit. Since the Indian scriptures are considered an essential part of *svAdhyAya* or self-learning and have successfully guided generations of seekers, it can be viewed as a knowledge mine waiting to be excavated to guide the modern person through the maze of life. Thus, building models from the Indian scriptures constitutes a natural place to start theory building in Indian psychology, and in this Chapter an attempt is made to develop a template for that.

Chapter 3 (see also earlier work in this area, Bhawuk 2008a, b; 2010a) a presented a methodological framework that captured the central role of indigenous insights in knowledge creation. This chapter extends that framework and presents four approaches for building models grounded in Indian insights derived from the other chapters of the book. First, a content analysis of the text(s) by using key words can lead to the development of models about constructs such as peace, spirituality, *karma*, *dharma*, identity, and so forth. Second, models exist in the scriptures, and they need to be discovered and polished to fit with the relevant literature. Third, by recognizing what works in the Indian culture, and tracing the idea to traditional wisdom and scriptures, practical and useful theories and models can be developed. Fourth, by questioning Western concepts and models in the light of Indian wisdom, knowledge, insights, and facts, one can develop psychological models. In the end, how these methods can contribute to the development of Indian, indigenous, and global psychologies are discussed.

---

[1] To me *nididhyAsana* means translating the learned ideas into practice. Ramana Maharshi encouraged his disciples to live in the world and apply this three-pronged process. So it is not about getting out of the society and meditating deeply about our true form (i.e., we are *Atman*), but to live in the world and practice every moment being aware that we are *Atman* (Osborne, 1970). abhyAs (or practice) and *vairAgya* (or detachment) are the two additional practices added to this three pronged introspective tool as noted in verse 6.35 of the *bhagavadgItA*.

[2] Western scholars often differentiate between morality and ethics, whereas in the Indian context, *dharma* covers both [Chaitanya, Personal communication (2009)].

Cultural Insight and Knowledge Creation

Bhawuk, (2008a, b) argued that knowledge creation starts with the effort to address human issues. Often, people use cultural insights to resolve issues or solve problems facing a community. Thus, knowledge creation is necessarily culture bound and that is why all knowledge is cultural. Through socialization, cultural knowledge is transmitted from generation to generation. In Figure 10.1, there is a solid box around human issues, cultural insight and wisdom, and problem solution with an emic approach encompassing this process. Early on, all issues are dealt with people who face them, i.e., problems are studied and solved by practitioners. Only with the growth of knowledge does the need to codify it grow, and with time research fields emerge. As societies and cultures develop complexity, people start placing issues into broad categories (e.g., social, political, economic, religious, business, scientific, technological, and so forth), which are further broken down into narrower categories. We can see cultural differences in basic biological functions (e.g., eating, drinking, mating, and so forth) as well as in major life events like birth and death. Survival problems are resolved by culturally appropriate tools, which are often laden with generations of insights and wisdom.

The weight of the lines of this box schematically represents the strength of the culture. Cultures found in Egypt, China, India, Iraq, Greece, and other such countries have both celebrated the human spirit for years and survived thousands of years of human movement, interactions, and travail. Many of these cultures are ancient, and people in these cultures are very proud of their culture. The older the culture, the more the people are attached to their way of life and approach to solve human

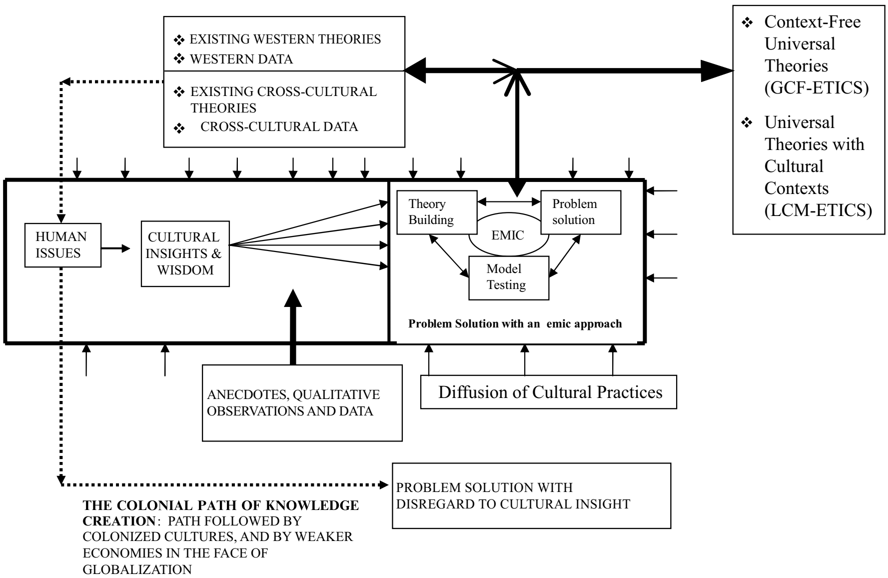


Figure 10.1 Cultural insight and knowledge creation (adapted from Bhawuk, 2010)

problems, and thus they are also more rigid about change (Hasegawa, 1995). It could be argued that such inflexibility is akin to the attitude found among researchers in major laboratories – what is “Not Invented Here” is not worth looking at.

Early trade between various cultures did allow the flow of ideas, products, and practices from one part of the world to another. Thus, there was some degree of cultural diffusion represented by arrows around the box. However, the knowledge brokers were still primarily the idea leaders of a particular culture, usually the elders or people who held social power. This changed dramatically with colonization. The ideas, products, practices, and values of the colonizers came to be considered significantly superior to the native practices and values, and, of course, the colonizers' military power facilitated this process. In the twentieth century, most human issues were couched into a Western worldview, and all problems were solved with a disregard to cultural insights. The failure of development projects in most parts of the world could be attributed to the export and forceful implementation of such countercultural ideas (Bhawuk 2001a; Bhawuk, Mrazek, & Munusamy, 2009). This process is identified by the dashed arrow going from the block of existing Western theories and Western data to human issues, and the second dashed arrow going from human issues to problem solutions that discard cultural insights. This could be labeled the colonial path to knowledge creation, which was followed by colonized cultures in the past and in the present time by weaker economies in the face of globalization. This is also true for cross-cultural theories and data in that the problem solution follows the pseudoetic approach and still disregards the cultural insights.

First colonization and now globalization is leading to the neglect of cultural knowledge and insights in research and knowledge creation. However, the growth in indigenous psychology, supported by cross-cultural psychology, has also led to the questioning of, and a severe criticism of, the colonial approach to knowledge creation. The model of knowledge creation presented in Figure 10.1 would help channel cultural knowledge and wisdom back into the knowledge creation process.

Research has been generally dominated by the Western rationalist worldview in which truth is pursued by quantifying and measuring variables of interest. However, a rationalist research paradigm can never resolve situations when two contradictory ideas seem to be simultaneously true, because in this paradigm only one solution can exist. Therefore, we need to go beyond the rationalist paradigm, and use not only multimethods within one paradigm, but also multiple paradigms – particularly those suggested by indigenous worldviews (Bhawuk, 2008a, b). This should help the study of human behavior in its cultural context and enable researchers to study issues that cannot be studied appropriately within the narrow confine of any one paradigm. The multiparadigmatic approach calls for the nurturing of indigenous research agenda. However, the leadership of the Western world in research and knowledge creation more often than not leads to starting with theoretical positions that are grounded in Western cultural mores. Thus, starting with a theoretical position invariably leads to the pseudoetic approach in which theories are necessarily Western emics.

This can be avoided by starting with insights coming from folk wisdom or from classical texts in non-Western cultures. This process, starting with cultural insights

and examining other evidence (including anecdotes, qualitative observations, and data), leads to the development of emic-embedded theories and models, and by synthesizing such models with existing Western and cross-cultural theories and data, one should be able to develop context-free universal theories as well as universal theories with cultural contexts, which could be called global theories for psychology, management, and other fields of human endeavor. Such an approach can expand the scope of research for Western and cross-cultural theories and in the long run will help in the search of general theories.

Building Models by Content Analysis of Scriptures

A content analysis of a religious or other such texts by using key words can lead to the development of models about constructs such as peace, spirituality, *karma*, *dharma*, identity, and so forth. This method was illustrated in Chapter 7 where a model with multiple paths for peace was developed. Also, in Chapter 8, *karma* was analyzed using this methodology. Thus, the methodology has promise. Future research could focus on other constructs like *manas*, *buddhi*, *ahaGkAra*, *antaH-karaNa*, *kSamA* (or forgiveness), *karuNa* (or compassion), and so forth, which can easily be studied following this approach.

Discovering or Mining Models from Scriptures

Sometimes models exist in the scriptures that need to be discovered or mined and polished to fit with the relevant literature.[3] For example, in Chapter 6, a process model of how desire and anger cause one's downfall was derived from the second Canto of the *bhagavadgItA* (see Figure 6.1). The 62nd verse delineates this process by stating that when a person thinks (*dhyAyataH*) about objects (*viSayAn*), he or she

[3] Both Vijayan and Anand do not think that "polishing" captures the spirit of what I am saying. Scriptures are known for offering their teaching in *sutra* (or aphorism) form where the beginning and end states are mentioned and the details of the process omitted. Often a commentator or *bhASyakAr* explicates the process sometimes by bringing other constructs and, at other times, by giving examples. What is being done in the polished model is similar to what a *bhASyakAr* does. For example, I explain how goal setting, a well-established psychological construct in Western psychology, mediates desires and anger. Anand thinks it may be better to call it an explicated model [Chandrasekar, Personal Communication (2009)]. Vijayan Munusamy [Personal Communication (2009)], on the other hand, noted that what is being done under the label of "polished to fit" is akin to what is referred to as "theoretical sensitivity" in grounded theory when a researcher uses his or her personal and temperamental bent as well as theoretical insights to create a theory that fits the data (Glaser & Strauss, 1967, pp. 46–47). I think both perspectives together capture the process of polishing the model extracted from the scripture as the researcher is being a *bhASyakAr* and in being that brings his or her theoretical sensitivity to the process of polishing the extracted model.

develops an attachment (*saGga*) to it. Attachment leads to desire (*kAma*), and from nonfulfillment of desire anger (*krodha*) is manifested. The 63rd verse further develops this causal link by stating that anger leads to confusion (*sammoha*) or clouding of discretion about what is right or wrong, confusion to bewilderment (*smRtivibhrama*), to loss of memory or what one has learned in the past (*smRtibhramza*), to destruction of *buddhi* (i.e., intellect or wisdom), to the downfall of the person (*praNazyati*) or his or her destruction (see the block diagram in the top part of Figure 10.2[4]).

This causal model is as it is present in the *bhagavadgItA*, and since it is quite often cited in spiritual circles (or *satsangs*), it is not a secret and could hardly even be called a discovery. However, since the model has only recently made its entrance in psychological journals in India (Bhawuk, 1999) and internationally (Bhawuk 2008b), and since it is as yet to make an inroad in psychological textbooks, it is perhaps not an exaggeration to say that the model has finally been discovered by psychologists. What needs to be done is to further synthesize it with the extant psychological literature, which could be considered the polishing of the model. We need to be sensitive to the possibility of polishing what already exists in the scriptures,

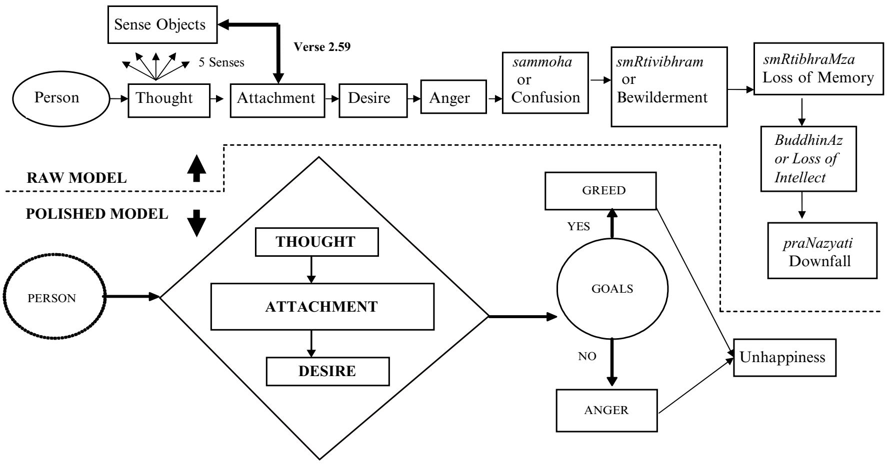


Figure 10.2 Discovering or mining models from scriptures: a causal model of desire, anger, and self-destruction (adapted from Bhawuk, 2010)

[4] There is some discussion in the literature about whether or not *smRtivibhrama* and *smRtibhramZa* are two concepts, especially since *Adi zankara* did not interpret them as two concepts in his commentary on the *bhagavadgItA*. I take the position that they are two different concepts; *smRtivibhrama* originates from the root *bhramati* meaning wander, whereas *smRtibhramZa* is derived from the root *bhras* meaning destruction. Thus, *smRtivibhrama* means restlessness or unsteadiness of memory, or simply one is disarranged, bewildered, perplexed, or confused. On the other hand, *smRtibhramZa* means decline or decay of memory, or simply ruined memory.

without being irreverent because no idea is ever perfect and all ideas need to be made sense of in the context of the contemporary knowledge base for people to appreciate it. Thus, there should be no hesitation in attempting to polish such models. In what follows an attempt is made to polish this basic model from the *bhagavadgItA* in the light of current psychological knowledge.

It is not explicated in the verse that desires lead to setting goals, which can be financial, academic, personal (health, how one looks, etc.), and so forth. Thus, desire is translated into behaviors, which are directed toward goals. Anger results when goals are not met. But when goals are met, desires are fulfilled; and in this case desires are unlikely to lead to anger. This truism is not stated in the verse. It seems reasonable that when goals are met, the person either moves on to some other goals or continues to pursue the behavior to obtain more of the same outcome or something higher or better. Therefore, greed[5] is the likely consequence of fulfillment of goals (Bhawuk, 1999). Both anger and greed are causes of unhappiness, and thus it could be argued that we have discovered a model of unhappiness. A schematic presentation of this process is captured in Figure 10.2. The top part of the diagram is raw wisdom as presented in the *bhagavadgItA*, and the lower part of the diagram is an attempt to polish the model to synthesize current thinking in psychology. One could stop here or take another step and reverse the process of unhappiness, which could lead to a model of happiness (see Figure 7.1).

Another example will help demonstrate this approach further. In verses 3.14 and 3.15 of the *bhagavadgItA,* a model that shows causal connection between *yajna* and human existence is presented. People are born of food, food is born of rain, rain is born of *yajna*, and *yajna* is born of *karma* (verse 3.14[6]). *karma* is born of the *vedas*, the *vedas* are born of indestructible *brahman* (see Figure 10.3), and so the all pervading *brahman* is always present in *yajna* (verse 3.15[7]). In the Indian worldview, *yajna*, where offerings

[5] A question can be raised if fulfillment of goals invariably leads to greed, which is negative. What about ambition to excel in something or non-selfish goals like desire to help others? It is my understanding that all desires invariably lead to greed, since enlightenment means flowing with the universe and serving people without having any desire for oneself. The moment there is self, there is desire and, therefore, greed. The selfless person has no desire. The enlightened person has no desire, not even to fight for the freedom of nation. One would think that the pastors and ministers of Christian churches are motivated by serving others, but research evidence shows that they have one of the highest rates of burnout among all professions (Chun, 2006; Grosch & Olsen, 2000). Clearly, too much of social service can also lead to stress and burnout. Other examples can be found in the scriptures. For example, *arjuna's* desire to be the best archer led him to complain to *guru droNa*, which culminated in ekalavya losing his thumb. The contest between *karNa* and *arjuna* was a result of both trying to be the best archer of their time. So, excellence and ambition inherently lead to competition and result in greed sooner or later.

[6] Verse 3.14: *annAdbhavanti bhUtAni parjanyAdannasambhavaH; yajnAdbhavati parjanyo yajnaH karmasamudbhavaH.*

[7] Verse 3.15: *karma brahmodbhavaM viddhi brahmAkSarsamudbhavam; tasmAtsarvagataM brahma nityaM yajne pratiSThitam.*

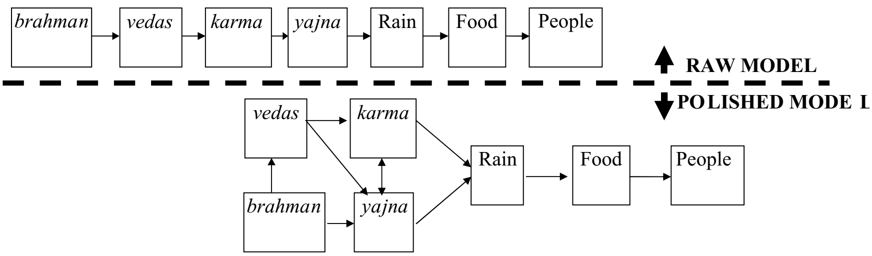


Figure 10.3 Discovering or mining models from scriptures: *brahman*, work, *yajna*, and living beings (adapted from Bhawuk, 2010)

are made to fire, is long viewed as the cause of rain[8] and the growth of plants, vegetables, and food. For example, in the *manusmRti,* it is also stated that the offering properly make to fire is placed in sun; sun causes rain, rain causes grains, and from grains come people.[9] The model can be reconstructed or polished as shown in the bottom panel of Figure 10.3. *brahman* created the *vedas*, as the *vedas* are said to be *apauruSeya* (i.e., not written by a person), and *karma* and *yajna* come from the *vedas*. *brahman* is also present in *yajna* as stated in these verses. Though *karma* is said to precede *yajna*, *brahman* is said to be present in *yajna* and not *karma*. Therefore, it may be better to show reciprocal relationship between *yajna* and *karma* and *brahman* as the cause of *yajna*.

Again, the model as it is exists in the *bhagavadgItA* and is also supported in the *manusmRti*. To relate the model to work and organizations is what makes the model

[8] A friend noted if this entire argument or model should find a place in the paper. He thought that while what *kRSNa* said must have made perfect sense to the people of his time, concepts like *yajnAd bhavati parjanyaH* are difficult for the modern mind to accept. I thought similarly, so I can relate to the argument. During my sabbatical in New Zealand in October 2002, I was studying the *bhagavadgItA*, and one day I thought that *yajna* could not cause rain. And that same day, a visiting anthropologist happened to present about Native Americans' practice of going in solitude to pray for rain and doing what is referred to as rain dance. After his presentation, I asked him if he believed the shamans predicted rain or made rain, and he responded that what he believed did not matter. The Native Americans believed that the shamans made rain. I stopped questioning the connection between rain and *yajna* from that point on. More recently in October 2009, I was reading the biography of Sri Ramana Maharshi (Osborne, 1970), and I came across a story that supports such mystical connection between *yajna* and rain. "The mystery of Arunachala Hill also has become more accessible. There were many formerly who felt nothing of its power, for whom it was just a hill of rock and earth and shrubs like any other. Mrs. Taleyarkhan, a devotee mentioned in the previous chapter, was sitting once on the hill with a guest of hers, talking about Sri Bhagavan. She said: "Bhagavan is a walking God and all our prayers are answered. That is my experience. Bhagavan says this hill is God Himself. I cannot understand all that, but Bhagavan says so, so I believe it." Her friend, a Muslim in whom the courtly Persian traditions of culture still lingered, replied, "According to our Persian beliefs I would take it as a sign if it rained." Almost immediately there was a shower and they came down the hill drenched to tell the story (Osborne, 1970, p. 192)." Thus, I am open to the correlation between prayer or *yajna* and rain.

[9] *agnau prAstAhutiH samyagAdityamupatiZThate; AdityAjjAyate vRSTirvRSTerannaM tataH prajAH* (*Manusmriti* 3.76). The offering given properly to fire is placed in Sun; Sun causes rain, rain causes grains, and from grains come people.

relevant to psychology. *yajna* is interpreted to include not only the ritual offering to fire but also all activities that keep the universe running, and in that sense it is inclusive of all kinds of work done by all beings. Thus, work is glorified to be always permeated by God, and thus doing any work is of the highest order. However, if it is done with passion and attachment it is a sin, and if it is done without attachment, then it frees one of all bondage. Thus, work is couched in a spiritual worldview (see Chapter 8 for full discussion) and if done properly without pursuing their outcomes it becomes a path leading to mental purity, which in turn leads to self-realization.

By comparing the insights in the model with ideas found in other cultures, its generalizability can be at least theoretically examined. As noted in Chapter 8, the doctrine of *niSkAma karma* postulated in the *bhagavadgItA* is also supported in the Christian faith,[10] and the convergence of these ideas should be taken as natural experiments occurring in different cultures confirming the same human insight if not truth. These two examples demonstrate how the scriptures are like mines full of gems of psychological models that can be easily extracted and polished. Much research has been done on aggression in the West, but the insight presented in the model in Figure 10.2 brings one face to face with the source of aggression, and therein lies the solution to anger. Similarly, much can be learned about the nature of work using the model in Figure 10.3. It is also clear that building models from indigenous insights allows one to accommodate the Western theory and models, and also contribute to the global psychology.

Recognition of What Works in Indigenous Cultures

By recognizing what works in the indigenous cultures, and tracing the idea to traditional wisdom and scriptures, practical and useful theories and models can be developed. For example, as was noted above, spirituality is valued in the Indian culture, and as people strive to excel in areas that are compatible with their cultural values, it can be postulated that creative geniuses of India would be readily channeled in this field of human endeavor. Though this idea makes intuitive sense, we have not seen much research on spirituality and creativity in India, and most of the research on creativity has been pseudoetic in nature (Raina, 1980). Bhawuk (2003a) attempted to use this approach by employing qualitative methods like historical analysis and case method to examine if culture shapes creative behaviors, and in the Indian context if creativity flows in the domain of spirituality, which seems to be valued in India. In Chapter 2, cross-cultural psychological models and cultural models that are presumed to be etics were tested against emic

[10] It is plausible that actions dedicated to God and *niSkAma karma* are not the same. In the early phase of cultivating *niSkAma karma*, I remember dedicating my work to God, as if to convince myself that I was not the doer and I was not concerned about the fruits. In hindsight, actions dedicated to God are a far cry from doing *niSkAma karma*. *niSkAma karma* is similar to carrying out the will of God and knowing that it is not one's own desire to perform the action. In the early phases of *sAdhanA* (or spiritual practice), sometimes we rationalize our desires as God's will.

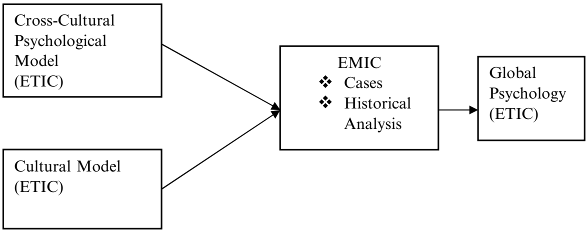


Figure 10.4 Testing etic models on emic data to develop global psychology

cases and also historical analysis to derive a general model of creativity. Figure 10.4 captures this process as a methodological approach to global psychology. As noted in Chapter 2, indigenous studies can be as rigorous as Western research, and use "methods triangulation," "triangulation of source," "theory/perspective triangulation," and "analyst triangulation."

Going a step further from indigenous psychology to global psychology, the general model of creative behavior can be readily adapted to explain general cultural behavior as presented below (see Figure 10.5). This model contributes to the framework presented by Triandis (1994, 1972) by extending it to include the impact of culture on both ecology and history, which Triandis presented as the antecedents of culture. Culture gets shaped by ecology but also shapes ecology. There is clearly a human made part of ecology that is a part of culture, which includes buildings, roads, hospitals, airports, churches, stadiums, and so forth. Urban centers are clearly human made ecoogy that have significant impact on the natural ecology. Suffice to say global warming is the impact of the culture of industrialization that is a part of the western culture and now adopted by other cultures of the world. History, similarly, is shaped by culture. Much of world history has been written from the western perspective and also by westerners. Also, most of human history is written by men and from men's perspectives. This is now beginning to change indicating that culture does shape history. History also includes the most recent past *zeitgeist*. For example, the cold war has now entered history but was part of the *zeitgeist* until the fall of the Soviet Union. There is also interaction between ecology and history in that we can talk about the ecology of history as well as the history of ecology. Thus, there is reciprocal relationship among the three constructs of ecology, history, and culture.

Triandis (1994) posited that culture shapes human personality through socialization in its own unique ways, and personality determines behavior, which is moderated by situations. With the emphasis on personality, the model acquires western bias[11] and to avoid this personality is not shown in the model in Figure 10.5. Also,

[11] All personality theories listed in Wikipedia are by Western scholars, namely, Sigmund Freud, Alfred Adler, Carl Jung, Gordon Allport, B.F. Skinner, Raymond Cattell, Hans Eysenck, George Kelly, Abraham Maslow, Carl Rogers, Lewis Goldberg, John Holland, Heinz Kohut, Karen Horney, Meyer Friedman, and Richard Herrnstien among others. This provides face validity that personality is a Western construct. When people use terms like Islamic Personality or Buddhist Personality they are simply using a pseudoetic approach to study human psychology using the construct of personality.

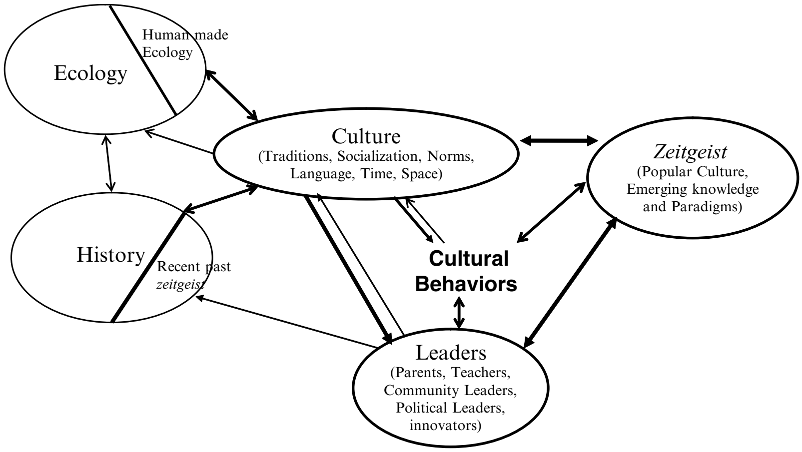


Figure 10.5 A dynamic model of construction of cultural behaviors (adapted from Bhawuk, 2010)

since socialization is one of the mechanisms used for the transmittal of culture, it is an inherent component of culture, a method of learning culture. Culture also includes traditions, norms, language, time, space, and so forth, to name a few important aspects of culture, and they are all interrelated. For example, language is used to socialize the young ones into norms and traditions, which include time and space, among others. Culture is shown to have a direct influence on behaviors. This is not to rule out individual differences, or to present culture as a tyrannical force, since humans shape culture, albeit slowly, as much as culture shapes humans. Thus, a casual arrow is shows from cultural behaviour to culture, but of lighter weight.

In the model presented in Figure 10.5 "geniuses" are replaced by "leaders" and "creative behaviors" are replaced by "cultural behaviors" to extend the model beyond creative behavior to include all cultural behaviors (compare Figure 3.1). Leaders include parents, teachers, community leaders, political leaders, organizational leaders, innovators, and so forth. In effect, anybody who is able to shape the thinking and behavior of people in a society is a leader. Leaders make history and hence may have a direct impact on history (e.g. Gandhi).

Zeitgeist includes the popular culture as captured in various forms of media, current events that shape people's thinking and behavior, and all kind of emerging knowledge, technologies, and paradigms that are yet to become a part of the culture. For example, after the bombing of the Twin Towers in New York on September 11, 2001, people in the USA have been living with "Terror," which is reflected in the creation of the Department of Homeland Security, the war in Afghanistan and Iraq that is labeled "War on Terrorism," and the excessive checking at US airports that is unlike anywhere in the world. All these are elements of the *zeitgeist* in 2011 as much as the discrimination against Chinese immigrants in the USA was in the early 1900s, which was captured by the promulgation of the Chinese Exclusion Act on May 6, 1882. On the other hand, living together before getting married was in the *zeitgeist* in the 1960s and 1970s, but today it has become a part of the culture of the USA and most other industrialized Western societies.

What we see in Figure 10.5 is a contribution of an indigenous psychological research to global psychology. The model uses bi-directional variables which captures, one could argue, the real world better than uni-directional casual model of culture & related variables. This model can be used to guide research on indigenous cultures while examining the impact of globalization as well as various technologies. It is also possible that other models can be developed by historical and biographical analyses of characters from the scriptures, especially from the *rAmAyaNa*, the *mahAbhArata*, the *bhAgavatam*, the *puraNas*, and so forth, in other domains of human endeavor.

Questioning Western Concepts (Recognition of What Does Not Work)

Finally, by questioning Western concepts and models in the light of indigenous wisdom, knowledge, insights, and facts, one can develop indigenous models. This approach steers away from the pseudoetic or imposed etic approach and allows theory building that is grounded in cultural contexts. For example, to go beyond the existing models of leadership, we need to delve into indigenous approaches to leadership (see Bhawuk, 1997 for an illustration). If we scan the Indian environment for leaders, we are likely to find a variety of leaders, which may not be found in other cultures. This approach was presented in Chapter 1, which led to the discovery of *sannyAsi* Leaders, *karmayogi* Leaders, Pragmatic Leaders, and even Legitimate Non-Leaders.

The first three prototypes inspire people in India, whereas the last one does much to destroy people's morale in the workplace. Much work needs to be done in understanding how these heroes are viewed in modern India and how people attempt to emulate them. A starting point would be to develop a biographical profile of leaders from the *purANas* and then to compare them with the modern leaders. Such an approach will provide the thick description necessary to understand indigenous leaders and their leadership styles. Thus, we can see that questioning Western concepts by testing how they do not capture the reality of a non-Western culture can be an approach to indigenous research. Unfortunately, the pseudoetic approach has been used to indigenize psychology, which at best helps the Westerners know how well the natives can do their tricks and at worst perpetuates intellectual colonialism. There is a pressing need to do research that captures fresh ground by building indigenous psychological literature, and Indian Psychology is well positioned with its rich intellectual tradition to break fresh grounds in this area.

Implications for Global Psychology

There are two ways of going about studying cultures. First, we can strive to search for similarities across cultures and can identify constructs or practices that are found in target cultures. This would lead to finding fewer and fewer elements as the number

of cultures studied increases, leading us close to our biological similarities. This process necessitates increasing abstraction to find commonalities among constructs and practices. We are likely to study and discover constructs like superordination and subordination, processes like categorization, practices like conflict management or peace building, behaviors like expression or suppression of emotions, and so forth across cultures. This process is much like the arithmetic operation in which the greatest common factor (GCF) is a small number that is common to a set of numbers.[12]

This process is captured schematically in Figure 10.6, which provides a perspective on the relationship between indigenous psychologies and universal psychology. The core is labeled as universal psychology, which captures concepts that are common to all target cultures. These are what cross-cultural psychologists call etics and pursue in their research. The core is surrounded by indigenous psychologies, which are numerous and include, to name a few, Western Psychology, Indian Psychology, Chinese Psychology, Filipino Psychology, Hawaiian Psychology, African-American Psychology, Hispanic Psychology, Women's Psychology, and so forth. The etics are, however, not meaningful in themselves, as they have many emic expressions. For example, superordination or subordination is expressed differently across cultures. Some cultural scholars argue that there is really not much value in distilling such universal psychological constructs, because they can only be understood in specific cultural contexts (Ratner, 2006; Shweder, 1990). Others

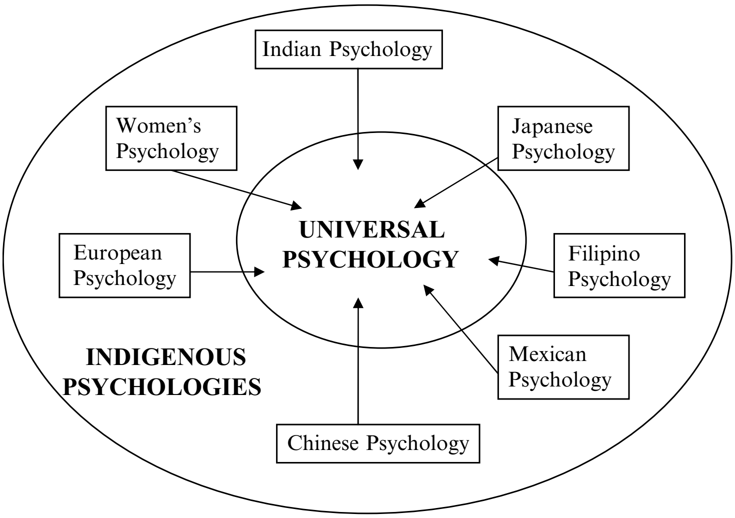


Figure 10.6 Search for similarities or GCF-Etics (adapted from Bhawuk, 2010)

[12] The more the non-prime numbers are involved, the smaller is the GCF. Since prime numbers cannot be factored, the GCF for prime numbers is simply a multiplication of all the prime numbers in the set.

argue that to study any phenomenon, we have to start with some construct, and the etics or elements of universal psychology would serve as a good place to start (Triandis, 1994, 2000).

The second approach deals with searching for differences across cultures. The process starts by exploring a construct, concept, or idea in the context of a specific culture with all the thick descriptions and then doing the same in another culture. The process culminates in a comparison of the two knowledge systems creating new knowledge. For example, leadership could be studied in India from multiple perspectives (e.g., mythologically and historically) and in multiple contexts (e.g., sports, business, family and not-for-profit). Next, following similar procedure leadership practices in China could be studied. Finally, the knowledge from these two studies could be synthesized or integrated to learn about leadership in India and China. Such an approach will lead to the development of a general framework that would capture findings from both these cultures. This is like the arithmetic operation of finding the least common multiple (LCM) for a set of numbers, which is always larger than its constituent numbers.

This process is captured schematically in Figure 10.7, which provides another perspective on the relationship between indigenous psychologies and universal psychology. The core consists of various indigenous psychologies, whereas the combination of these psychologies leads to general frameworks that could be called universal psychology. In this perspective, indigenous psychologies are special cases of the general framework of universal psychology. It could be viewed as a regression equation where universal psychology is the sum of various indigenous psychologies with some coefficients. The coefficients take a value of zero when the construct is not applicable to or meaningful in a culture. When all coefficients

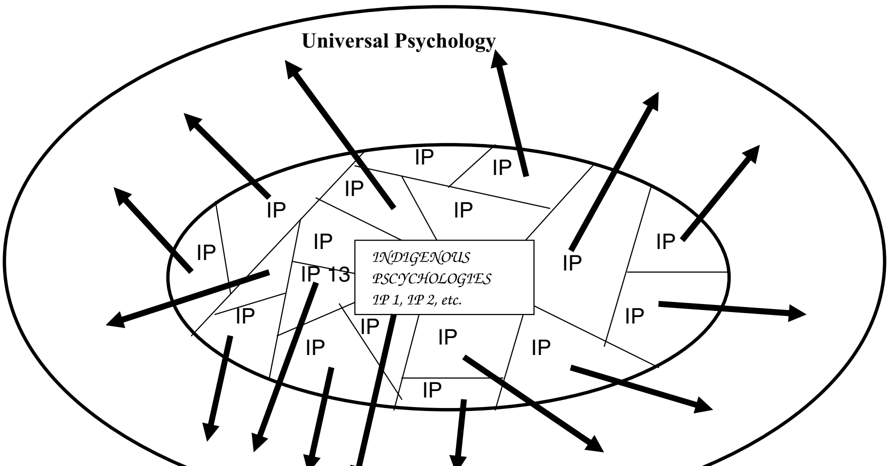


Figure 10.7 Search for differences or LCM-Etics (adapted from Bhawuk, 2010)

except for one particular culture take a value of zero then universal psychology is reduced to one indigenous psychology.

Both these approaches call for first understanding human behavior in their cultural contexts and then proceeding to find universals. This is different in both spirit and practice from the most prevalent pseudoetic approach of research that is universally practiced and endorsed, which has been led by Western psychology emanating from the USA and Western Europe. The framework and methodology presented in this paper provides an approach to theory building by starting with an indigenous psychology. Clearly from this perspective, Indian Psychology is an indigenous psychology as would be Chinese Psychology, Filipino Psychology, South African Psychology Nigerian Psychology, and so forth. It is plausible that we could also visualize Asian Psychology, African Psychology, North American Psychology, European Psychology, and so forth at another level following the two approaches, and in Figure 10.6 universal psychology would be replaced by these regional psychologies. And global psychology will be one step further abstraction from these regional psychologies (see Figure 10.8).

The method proposed in Figure 10.1 has been successfully employed to discover the GCF-Etics and LCM-Etics of multiculturalism in an innovative research program conducted in three cultures, Malaysia, Singapore, and Honolulu in which archival data sources (e.g., letters to editor) were subjected to grounded theory methodology (Munusamy, 2008). This study helped decode the meaning of multiculturalism in these three cultures, and then by comparing the emic models, which were further elaborated upon by conducting historical analysis in each of the three cultures, both GCF-Etics and LCM-Etics were distilled. The findings of this

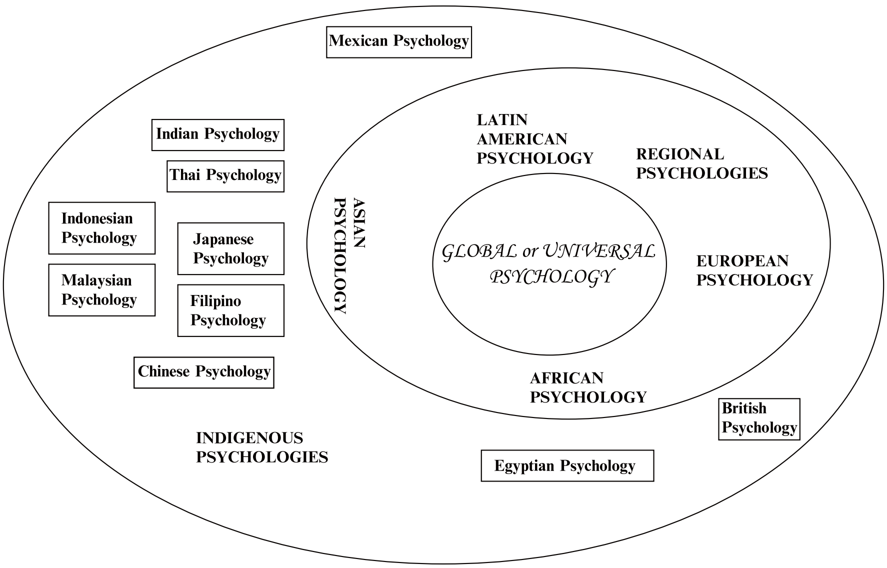


Figure 10.8 Indigenous, regional, and global psychologies (adapted from Bhawuk, 2010)

research are readily usable by policy makers in each of these cultures and for researchers eager to extend this research to other multicultural countries like India, Nepal, the USA, and so forth. Thus, the possibility of theory building following indigenous cultural study is immense and naturally open to multiple methods.

It should be noted that some researchers (Stake, 2005) argue that the comparative case analysis method is the opposite of "thick description" (Geertz, 1973) method in that in thick description all the ethnographic details are presented, whereas in comparative case analysis focus is on writing the cases to emphasize those elements that are relevant to the selected criteria for comparison. Though there may be some merit in such assertions, it does not have to be an either or position as demonstrated in the study by Munusamy (2008) noted above. He used the indigenous psychological approach supported by historical analysis of archival data. Each of the cases on Malaysia, Singapore, and Hawaii was found to be rich with thick descriptions, as thick as it possibly can get on the topic of multiculturalism. Because he also used historical analysis, each of the societies was also couched accurately in the recorded historical time frame. What is interesting about the LCM and the GCF approach to the development of etics is that whereas GCF sacrifices variables, LCM adds to the individual case to develop the most comprehensive framework, brimming with thick descriptions beyond any one case. Unlike the traditional emic–etic approach used in cross-cultural psychology, where the focus is on etic, and emic is often used to defend the etic rather than for its intrinsic thick descriptive value, in the GCF–LCM approach cultural knowledge is preserved, and through comparison it is made richer. It seems that this novel approach is necessary for the development of global psychology, which is necessary for the global village that we have become.

Marsella (1998) entreated researchers to replace the Western cultural traditions by more encompassing multicultural traditions and reiterated the necessity for examining culture as a determinant of social behavior. He further proposed that qualitative research including methods such as narrative accounts, discourse analysis, and ethnographic analysis should be encouraged. His recommendation has fallen on deaf years of many researchers doing indigenous research as they are driven by doing science and fall pray to the experimental paradigm. For example, Kim, Yang, and Hwang (2006, p. 9) stressed the "need to differentiate indigenous knowledge, philosophies, and religions from indigenous psychology," which clearly follows the Western mindset of divorcing philosophy from psychology. This is something that the Indian Psychological Movement has consciously chosen to steer away from. They further criticized psychological concepts developed by Paranjpe (1998) as "speculative philosophy" lacking "empirical evidence," thus discarding the body of knowledge he has created, which bridges psychology in the East and West (Paranjpe, 1984, 1986, 1988). Again, they imply that psychological knowledge is only what is produced following the mainstream methodology of experimentation, survey, and so forth. An idea that has survived the test of time over thousands of years need only to be tested in one's personal experience and employed if found useful. To put it strongly, no statistical significance should be required to support that desire leads to anger, if such a psychological fact makes

intuitive sense to an individual. Having discovered the unfathomable gap between the worldview and culture of science and the Indian civilization (Bhawuk, 2008a), I am convinced that indigenous psychology must proceed to use multiple paradigms and multiple methods, if it is to make any progress in making novel contribution to the discipline of psychology. Contradicting the position taken by some of the champions of indigenous psychology noted above, it was shown in this chapter that if we search for indigenous insights using the methodology presented above, we can successfully steer away from the path of knowledge creation that continues to colonize the rest of the world with Western ideas, constructs, theories, and methodology.

In this chapter, four approaches to model building from scriptures were proposed, and their value was demonstrated by crafting models from the *bhagavadgItA*. Since scriptures are archival sources of information, these methods can be applied to other sources of folk wisdom traditions including documented oral stories. These approaches steer away from the pseudoetic or imposed etic approach, which follows the colonial path of knowledge creation, and allow theory building that is grounded in cultural contexts. This approach also avoids the four levels of ethnocentrism found in the development of items, instruments, theories, and choice of topics (Poortinga, 1996), which is inherent in the pseudoetic approach. As shown in Figure 10.1, the models developed by following these methods can help examine the generalizability of what is currently known in the field of psychology, and through the synthesis of such models with the existing theories, we could develop universal psychology as noted above. Thus, this Chapter contributes to the field of indigenous psychology by providing novel approaches to model building from archival sources.

It also contributes to the field of global psychology by differentiating two types of etics and presenting an approach that extends the etic–emic approach beyond the confines of pseudoetic approach – develop a questionnaire or instrument and collect data in 50 countries – that leads to the discovery of etics that are lacking in meaning and practical applications in the name of contributing to the science of psychology. It should be noted that all research is shaped by the sociology of knowledge creation, and though many Western scholars (Adair, 1996, 2006) minimize the colonial dynamics of knowledge creation and put the blame on the local scholars for not utilizing culturally appropriate theory and method, the undeniable role of colonization in knowledge creation must never be forgotten. The model presented in Figure 10.1 serves as a reminder to scholars about how to avoid the colonial path, and also to embark on the path where cultural insights and wisdom take center stage.

I would like to end with a personal insight that should caution researchers every where how our academic training creates blinders that systematically, albeit unconsciously, eliminates indigenous perspectives. The theory of reasoned action (Fishbein & Ajzen, 1975) was the staple food for graduate students when I was at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign. Many of my close friends were using the theory in their research, and Triandis was supportive of the basic ideas of the theory, which he had synthesized in his own theory of attitude change (Triandis, 1979). I started thinking about indigenous psychology while in Illinois as noted above, but it has taken me

16 years to connect the theory of reasoned action with the theory of *karma*. On December 5, 2008, while I was listening to a student's dissertation defense, to help the student struggling with a question on the theory of reasoned action, I volunteered to explain the theory. And as soon as I was done explaining the theory I had a Eureka moment. Why did I not think about the theory of *karma* all these days while using the theory of reasoned action? After all, the theory is about action or *karma*. I experienced first hand how bilingual researchers compartmentalize theories and information coming from two languages such that these ideas remain disconnected despite their evident connection, as if they are stored in different parts of the brain. This compartmentalization of knowledge into Western and indigenous sectors of the brain should be used as an example of unconscious incompetence (Bhawuk, 2009), and we need to make conscious effort to break the barriers between these two domains to be able to synthesize concepts and theories meaningfully. It is hoped that this book will stimulate the field of psychology to bridge philosophy, spirituality, indigenous psychology, and universal psychology.

It is also hoped that it would slow down if not stop the mindless pursuit of pseudoetic research that is rampant today. Perhaps psychologists need to reflect on the knowledge created by the "objective knowledge creation" venture and see if it serves them personally and thus create a synthesis between the objective and the subjective because if anything this is a desideratum of Indian Psychology and philosophy that global psychology needs to learn.

Chapter 11
Summary and Implications

I noted in the introduction to this book how Triandis was frustrated in trying to collect ideas that did not fit the Western mold, and Terry Prothro pointed out to him that researchers' conceptual and methodological tools are culture bound, and how Western-educated scholars find it difficult to examine their culture from indigenous perspectives (Triandis, 1994). This book addresses that challenge. I have tried to look at my own culture from indigenous perspectives developing models that stand in their own right in their own cultural context without starting from any Western theory and findings. It should not surprise anybody that such knowledge is grounded in the wisdom in the ancient texts that are still being used in India in everyday life. It gives me joy to have served my mentor's (Dr. Harry C. Triandis) wish that remained unattended for decades, despite much growth in cross-cultural psychology and some growth in indigenous psychology. Scholars have been writing about indigenous psychology for three decades since the late 1970s (Azuma, 1984; Enriquez, 1977, 1981, 1982, 1990, 1993; Hwang, 1987, 1988, 1995, 1997–1998, 1999, 2000, 2004, 2006; Yang, K. S., 1995, 1997, 1999, 2000, 2006; Yang, C. F., 1996, 2006), but this is the first book-length discussion of any Asian Psychology in English language dealing with an indigenous psychology in its own cultural context (Hwang, 1988, 1995; Yang, C. F., 1996 are in Chinese language), which fills the gap identified by Triandis (1994) in the late 1970s. The book not only recommends what should be done in indigenous psychology, but also delivers on recommendations made about how indigenous psychological research should be done. It makes many other contributions that are summarized below.

Methodological Contributions

A methodological framework was presented in the book that allows us to focus on cultural insights in building theories avoiding the old approaches that emerged from our colonial past. The quote from Lord Macaulay presented in Chapter 9 (see page 193) is quite instructive of the dominant Western approach to education and knowledge creation, and the need to constantly watch for it is captured in the framework presented in Figure 10.1. One of the important points to be noted in this framework

D.P.S. Bhawuk, *Spirituality and Indian Psychology*, International and Cultural Psychology,
DOI 10.1007/978-1-4419-8110-3_11, © Springer Science+Business Media, LLC 2011

is that it differentiates cultural diffusion from cultural colonialism, and it is an important distinction to keep in mind. Cultures that are in geographical proximity or have a long history of contact are likely to go through cultural diffusion, and that is a natural process, perhaps as natural as diffusion of gases. Cultural diffusion does not have a specific or particular motive, and it occurs for ecological reasons, reasons of survival, or for reasons that are so numerous that no specific motive can be attributed to the process. However, colonization has a definite motive – exploitation of resources in another culture that is scarce or not readily available in one's own culture. Most of the colonies do have today a long history of contact with the colonizers, making the process more complex. Globalization is akin to colonization when it comes to West-dominated economic interactions between Western nations and other economically disadvantaged nations, but it also has many elements of diffusion when it comes to internet, music, art, and spirituality.

The four methods presented in Chapter 10 complement this framework, and together they provide an innovation in indigenous research methodology. First, it is clear that it is possible to build models by doing a content analysis of classical texts. Various process models of behaviors that lead to spiritual self-development, how desires shape cognition affect and behavior, and how one can achieve peace and harmony were presented in Chapters 5 to 7, respectively. Such theoretical model building has been hitherto missing in the psychological literature.

Second, it was demonstrated in Chapter 10 that models exist in the classical texts that are waiting to be mined. This approach is new or presents a new role to the psychologist in that he or she can be a *bhASyakAr* or commentator of type who digs up gem-like models and brings his or her own "theoretical sensitivity" (Glaser & Strauss, 1967, pp. 46–47) to polish them and making them relevant in the context of contemporary global knowledge base. I do not think Indian or other psychologists have thought about themselves as a *bhASyakAr* or commentator (or interpreter), and this novel role should stimulate a new kind of research in Indian and other indigenous psychologies.

The *bhASyakAr* could be viewed as a person who creates what is referred to as Memory Organization Packets (MOPs) and Thematic Organization Packets (TOPs) in the theory of dynamic memory (Kolodner, 1983; Lebowitz, 1983; Schank, 1982) in cognitive psychology. Thus, a *bhASyakAr* contributes to theory building. To clarify this, the theory of dynamic memory is briefly explained here. According to this theory, schema is a repository of knowledge about the world that gets aroused by indexes. Thus, indexing is the key to using past experience in understanding, and that remembering, understanding, experiencing, and learning cannot be separated from each other. We understand by integrating new experience with the earlier experience stored in our memory. Therefore, memory changes continuously or is dynamic. Schank (1982) proposed that memory is organized by MOPs and TOPs. MOPs hold general knowledge and they organize cases or specific experiences of a general knowledge. However, only cases that present anomalies, or in which expectations are not met, are stored in MOPs. Therefore, MOPs are used to remind cases from past experience to understand the present situation, and if cases do not find a match, they are stored as a case, i.e., they are learned. Thus, reminding, learning, and understanding go hand in hand. It should be noted here that since cultures evolve from different

environments (e.g., a land-locked country versus a "sea-locked" or island nation) and influence the specifics of social and work behaviors, it is plausible that people use different MOPs across cultures. Thus, the models presented in this book and by other indigenous psychologists are important contributions to global psychology.

Unlike MOPs, TOPs store general knowledge describing the situations they organize, and also organize these situations or episodes that come from different behavioral contexts. Thus, TOPs are responsible for cross-contextual reminding resulting from organizing situations that are similar in theme, but come from disparate behavioral domains. The similarity is derived from goals, plans, conditions, interpersonal relationships, and outcomes. Using a proverb or adage to describe a situation, telling a story to illustrate a point, predicting an outcome from the steps of a process seen before, learning from one situation and applying it in a drastically different situation, etc., are examples of TOPs and how they help us understand. Again, it should be noted that adages and proverbs are culture bound, and so people in different cultures are likely to use different TOPs in reminding, and organizing cognition. Thus, by serving as a *bhASyakAr* the contemporary psychologists provide useful service by presenting MOPs and TOPs in the indigenous cultural context.

The third approach of developing useful and practical model was identified in Chapter 2 and summarized in Chapter 10. Model building following this approach starts by recognizing what works in indigenous cultures and tracing the idea to narratives of folk wisdom or cultural texts. A general model of culture and creativity emerged from this approach in Chapter 2, which was further developed into a general model of cultural behavior that includes ecology and history as the antecedents of culture and presents cultural behavior as an outcome of reciprocal relationships between culture, leaders, and the *zeitgeist*. This is a significant contribution in that it challenges us to work with bi-directional variables, and culture is posited as a bi-directional variable in its entirety as well as in its components when it is unpackaged. Causation has so driven the search for truth (referred to as Big T) in logical positivism that the possibility of bi-directionality has beem simplified and put down as mere correlation. It is no surprise that correlational studies are considered less prestigeous if not outright despised. This model challenges the status quo. Also, Sinha (2010) pointed out that Indian respondents go back and forth when responding to questions suggesting that they view items on surveys or psychological instruments as inter-related or multidirectional requiring integration.

The fourth approach is the opposite of the third approach in that it focuses on Western theories and ideas that do not work in indigenous cultures. It could be argued that the indigenization of psychologies has followed this approach. However, the similarity between indigenization and recognizing what does not work in a non-Western culture is quite superficial. Indigenization was a sophisticated colonial tool of dominance, whereas this approach avoids the path treaded by the colonial masters and their local followers. It focuses on *not* finding out merely emic expressions of the etic coming from the West, but emics that make sense in the indigenous cultural context, and often do not make sense in the Western cultural context. The *karmayogi* and *sannyAsi* leaders clearly have not been talked about in the Western literature and do not make sense because these are culturally bound constructs. Of course, one can say that leadership is the etic construct, and *karmayogi* and *sannyAsi* leaders are simply emic representations of the etic. This, however, is not

tenable because the constructs of *niSkAma karma* or *sannyAs* stand in their own right and can be understood without focusing on leadership. They do present meaning to leadership as well. Thus, they point to the shared space between two constructs, leadership and *karmayoga* as also leadership and *sannyAs*. The indefinite search for etics can also fall prey to the logic of infinite regress, because a new etic is always lurking beyond the existing etic construct, and all one needs to do is to ratchet up the level of abstraction one notch.

Figure 10.4 presents another approach to synthesize cross-cultural and cultural psychological research. It proposes that we could start with two independent universals, a model from cross-cultural research (etic) and also a model from cultural psychology or anthropology (etic), and then test them emically on the same culture or another culture by using multiple methods like the case method and historical analysis. This testing of the two etic models could lead to another etic model that could be considered a contribution to global psychology. This approach was employed in Chapter 2, which led to a general model of creativity in Figure 2.1 and a general model of cultural behavior in Figure 10.5.

Another contribution pertains to presentation of the ideas of GCF-etic and LCM-etic extending the construct of etic used in cross-cultural psychology. The traditional etic is akin to what is called GCF-etic in Chapter 10. However, they are really quite different in their conceptualization and operationalization. Search for etic invariably starts with Western psychology and leads to pseudoetic research. Triandis (1972, 1994) has presented one of the few efforts toward etic research that was not pseudoetic or false etic, perhaps as good as it can ever get to be. Most other researchers have been driven by the pseudoetic approach. On the other hand, the GCF-etic (see Figure 10.6) results when research is carried out in a number of cultures on a construct loosely defined, and then models are built in each culture independent of other cultures. GCF-etic focuses on the similarities among cultures and picks the most common elements of the construct found in these cultures. LCM-etic, on the other hand, focuses on both similarities and differences and is the most general description of the construct that covers all the cultures studied (see Figure 10.7). LCM-etic includes within itself the GCF-etic. As the number of cultures increases, GCF-etic becomes more abstract and fewer and fewer characteristics of the construct emerge as common across cultures, whereas LCM-etic becomes more comprehensive as it not only identifies the common elements, but also goes on adding the uncommon elements of the construct across cultures. This approach allows us to organize indigenous psychologies, regional psychologies, and global psychology in a theoretical framework (see Figure 10.8).

Theoretical Contributions

Theoretical contributions of the book include the many models presented in the book, which cover a host of constructs including cognition, emotion, behavior, desire, peace and harmony, and spirituality and spiritual development. The host of questions raised

in the book at the end of each of the chapters presents much challenge to Western psychology and fodder for the development of global psychology. Reviewing the figures in each of the chapters would present a quick summary of the models presented in the book, making the theoretical contributions of the book transparent. Summarizing all the models would be repetitious and add little value here.

The epistemology and ontology of Indian Psychology was presented in Chapter 9. This is a unique contribution since few psychologists have attempted to address the epistemology and ontology of indigenous psychologies. The approach to the study of epistemology and ontology presented here could show the way to other indigenous psychologies to construct their own epistemology and ontology. If researchers contributed to this line of research, soon we could examine the epistemology and ontology of global psychology following the LCM-etic and GCF-etic approaches. Even starting a dialogue on these topics would stimulate the growth of global psychology. I hope researchers would take this challenge internationally.

The concept of self presented in Chapter 4 is unique to the Indian worldview and presents some emics for further exploration across other cultures. Constructs like *manas* (a psychological construct that is a combination of mind, heart, and behavioral intentions), *buddhi* (a construct akin to intellect, a seat of cultural guiding philosophy, or super-ego,), *ahaGkAra* (the agentic self that captures ego, pride, self-esteem, and so forth), and *antaHkaraNa* (a construct that combines all internal constructs much like G includes all intelligence) that make sense to Indians were presented, but their value to other cultures and global psychology remains to be examined. There is a need to explore such terms from other indigenous cultures to enrich global psychology theoretically. This book barely takes a small step by presenting these constructs and showing how they fit in Indian Psychology. It does challenge us to extend the study of psychological self to physical self, social self, and spiritual or metaphysical self, as opposed to merging social self or social identity with psychological self as is done by the conceptualization of independent and interdependent concepts of self (Markus & Kitayama, 1991; Triandis, 1990).

An Indian theory of *karma* or work presented in Chapter 8 is another theoretical contribution the book makes. Work and work values have been studied from the Western perspectives, and almost the entire post-1980 research base of cross-cultural psychology is founded on Hofstede's work (1980, 2001) grounded on work values that are completely different from the Indian perspective of *niSkAma karma* or working by dissociating oneself from the outcomes or fruits of one's work. The size of Indian population makes it worthwhile testing this theory within India and then on the Indian Diaspora in other parts of the world. I have observed in the Indian Diaspora in many countries such as the USA, UK, Europe, Australia, and so forth, that the work value represented by *niSkAma karma* is quite salient to Indians, and much can be learned by examining its impact on organizational and other social variables. A quote from a successful multinational manager, Gurcharan Das, is instructive (Das, 1993, p. 47). "It seems to come down to commitment. In committing to our work we commit to a here and now, to a particular place and time. The meaning in our lives comes from nourishing a particular blade of grass. It comes from absorbing ourselves so deeply in the microcosm of our work that we forget ourselves, especially our egos.

The differences between subject and object disappears. The Sanskrit phrase *niSkama karma* describes this state of utter absorption, in which people act for the sake of the action, not for the sake of the reward from the action. This is also the meaning of happiness." Also, the Indian theory of work does raise other intriguing questions. For example, is goal setting irrelevant for a person pursuing a spiritual path? Are the five characteristics of job – skill variety, task identity, task significance, autonomy, and feedback – not important for a practitioner of spirituality? As discussed in Chapter 1, Figure 1.2, questions such as these magnify gaps in the literature and help expand the scope of extant theory, which is an important contribution.

Contribution to Practice

The models presented in the book have been tested over thousands of years by practitioners and thus it has much empirical validity, which can be further tested by individuals in their own experience. If a model makes sense when one reflects on his or her own personal experience, and if it helps the person change a behavior that is of concern to him or her, then that is the best practical use of a theoretical model. Perhaps that is why Kurt Lewin said, "There is nothing as practical as a good theory." Thus, the models presented in the book can be used much like the recommendations presented by the authors of self-help books. I can further attest that I have tested the models presented here in my own experience over many years and found them useful in behavior modification for myself. The models could also serve counselors and therapists in guiding others to deal with emotions like anger and greed. Engineers and other scientists who think in terms of flow charts are also likely to find the models useful for self-reflection and organizing their thoughts systematically in a framework.

The book contributes to world peace by providing insights into how research in indigenous psychology can enhance intercultural dialogue. Dialogue cannot take place in the context of dominance. Of course, it is not possible to have a world without inequality. But it is possible to have dialogue if we make effort to create a level field for intercultural interactions. Indigenous psychological research is a step in that direction, away from the dominant Western psychological worldview in which a single truth exists and what is found in other cultures are merely various shades of this truth. The *etic–emic* framework can be criticized, and perhaps it should be today, for basically creating a more palatable, yet dominating research environment where Western ideas have been taken as universals. Models presented in this book clearly indicate that the search for universal is not only misplaced, for it neither solves human problems, nor creates an environment friendly to have dialogue between people of different parts of the world to solve problems effectively. Decolonization is necessary for dialogue and world peace, and without decolonizing the research paradigm, we are unlikely to move toward peace globally. Again, it is not possible to equalize resources across national boundaries; north and south differences will persist; but it is possible to change our perspective that people are rich because they are the chosen ones; or that people are poor because they do not know

how to create wealth. Historically, we know that the first world of pre-1760 has become the third world of today, and vice versa. But we also know that this can be changed in a blip of historical time, as is evident in the development in China and India today. Thus, by learning our lessons from the pernicious aspects of colonization, we can shape globalization by celebrating cultural knowledge and insights across the globe and embark on a journey of dialogue, understanding, and peace.

Implications for Future Research

Much was discussed about the implications of Indian Psychology for Western and global psychology at the end of each of the chapters in the book. Complementing those ideas, three general observations for future research are made here. First, the field of indigenous psychology has been growing quite rapidly; yet it is perhaps still in its infancy. This book captures one such indigenous psychology, the Indian Psychology, and much more needs to be done as far as indigenous psychologies are concerned. We need as many books like this as there are countries, and more, since each country has more than one culture present within its geographical boundary. Thus, this is a humble beginning, and needless to say more needs to be done. Even for Indian Psychology, this book is a tiny contribution, and many books need to be written before we can begin to comprehend what Indian Psychology is. I hope that the Indian Psychological movement will continue to grow in the future and provide some directions for other indigenous psychologies. Above all indigenous psychologies need to continue to grow without falling into the Western methodological and theoretical traps.

In the analysis of subjective culture study, Triandis (1972) avoided controversial issues pertaining to the primacy of biological or environmental factors, and proceeded by theorizing that ecology shapes culture. Triandis was also more concerned about developing measures to capture "adequate representation of the events occurring naturally in a human environment (Triandis, 1972, p. 355)." This book has ventured in bringing metaphysical concept of self in the realm of psychology for the same reason that propelled Triandis to develop measures of subjective cultural elements – adequate representation of events naturally occurring in the human environment. In India, not a day passes without some reference to *Atman*, *manas*, *buddhi*, or *ahanGkAra*, and so to engage in a psychology that avoids these constructs would be denying the representations that exist in the environment simply because they cannot be found in other parts of the world. The book also forces the need for synthesizing philosophy and psychology, broaching another controversial topic, which again is necessary in the Indian context. Perhaps it is time that we stopped skirting controversial issues in psychology and confronted them with wisdom to help us understand human psyche more effectively in the cultural context.

I think the most neglected area of research in psychology has been spirituality, and that needs to change in the future, the sooner the better. Triandis (2009)

presented four decision criteria – health, happiness, longevity, and not destroying the environment – that could prevent us from self-deception or deluding ourselves when we make decisions about ourselves or those that affect others. These criteria fit quite well with the concept of self presented in Chapter 4 and the models presented in the following four chapters. Health and longevity refer to the physical self, but are also dependent on our psychological state. The concept of *dharma* and *karma* discussed in Chapter 8 clearly leads us to take responsibility of the physical self as our *zarIr dharma* (our duty to our body). The role of environment in the Indian worldview and our role in its protection were also discussed in Chapter 8. Five models of how to be happy were presented in Chapter 7, which have been tested in the Indian experience for centuries. Thus, though spirituality may seem like a self-deluding perspective, it captures all four recommendations that Triandis presents for us to avoid self-deception. I hope that future psychological research will be more open to spirituality and its contributions to our life than it has done in the past, for its neglect seems to be more conducive to self-deception than its acceptance.

References

Adair, J. G. (1996). The indigenous psychology bandwagon: Cautions and considerations. In J. Pandey, D. Sinha, and D. P. S. Bhawuk (Eds.), *Asian contributions to cross-cultural psychology* (pp. 50–58). New Delhi/Thousand Oaks/London: Sage.

Adair, J. G. (2006). Creating indigenous psychologies: Insights from empirical social studies of the science of psychology. In U. Kim, K. S. Yang, & K. K. Hwang, (Eds.) *Indigenous and cultural psychology: Understanding people in context* (pp. 467–485). New York, NY: Springer.

Ajzen, I. (1991). The theory of planned behavior. *Organizational Behavior and Human Decision Processes*, *50*, 179–211.

Albanese R., & Van Fleet D. D. (1985). Rational behavior in groups: The free-riding tendency. *Academy of Management Review*, 10, 244–255.

Aleaz, K. P. (1991). *The role of pramANas in Hindu Christian epistemology*. Calcutta: Punthi-Pustak

Allwood, C. M., & Berry, J. W. (2006). Origins and development of indigenous psychologies: An international analysis. *International Journal of Psychology*, *41* (*4*), 243–268.

Amabile, T. M. (1983). The social psychology of creativity: A componential conceptualization. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 45, 357–376.

Amabile, T. M. (1988). A model of creativity and innovation in organizations. In B. M. Staw & L. L. Cummings (Eds.), Research in Organizational Behavior (Vol 1, pp. 123–167). Greenwich, CT: JAI Press.

Anderson, J. R. (2000). *Cognitive psychology and its implications* (5th Edition.). New York: Worth Publishing Company.

Anderson, L. (2006). Analytic autoethnography. *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography*, *35 (4)*, 373–395.

Archer, J. (1979). Behavioral aspects of fear. In W. Sluckin (ed.), *Fear in animals and man* (pp. 56–85). New York, NY: Van Nostrand Reinhold.

Argyris, C. (1968). Some unintended consequences of rigorous research. Psychological Bulletin, 70, 185–197.

Armstrong, K. (1993). *A history of God*. New York, NY: Random House Publisher.

Ashby, W. R. (1958). Requisite variety and its implications for the control of complex systems. *Cybernetica*, *1 (2)*, 83–99.

Audi, R. (1998). *Epistemology: A Contemporary Introduction to the Theory of Knowledge (2nd Ed.)*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Ayer, A. J. (1956). *The Problem of Knowledge*. London, UK: Macmillan.

Azuma, H. (1984). Psychology in a non-western country. *International Journal of Psychology*, *19*, 145–155.

Bagozzi, R. P. (1992). The self-regulation of attitudes, intentions, and behavior. *Social Psychology Quarterly*, *55*, 178–204.

D.P.S. Bhawuk, *Spirituality and Indian Psychology*, International and Cultural Psychology, DOI 10.1007/978-1-4419-8110-3, © Springer Science+Business Media, LLC 2011

Balcetis, E., Dunning, D., Miller, R. L. (2008). Do collectivists know themselves better than individualists? Cross-cultural studies of the holier than thou phenomenon. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*. *95(6)*, 1252–1267.

Bandura, A. (1977). *Social learning theory*. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall.

Bandura, A. (1986). *Social foundations of thought and action*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.

Bandura, A. (1997). *Self-efficacy: The exercise of control*. New York: Freeman.

Barker, R. (1968). *Ecological psychology: Concepts and methods for studying the environment of human behavior*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Barron, F., & Harrington, D. M. (1981). Creativity, intelligence, and personality. Annual Review of Psychology, 32, 439–476.

Beattie, J. (1980). Review article: Representations of the self in traditional Africa. *Africa*, 50(3), 313–320.

Beeghley, L. (2004). *The Structure of Social Stratification in the United States*. Boston, MA: Pearson, Allyn & Bacon.

Benson, H. (1969). Yoga for drug abuse. New England Journal of Medicine, 281, 145–152.

Benson, H. (1974). Transcendental Meditation – Science or cult? Journal of the American Medical Association, *227 (7)*, *807*.

Benson, H. (1975). The relaxation response. New York, NY: Avon Books

Benson, H. (1984). Beyond relaxation response. New York, NY: Berkeley Books

Benson, H. (1996). Timeless Healing: The power and biology of belief. New York, NY: Fireside

Berger, P. Luckmann, T. (1967). *Social construction of reality*. New York: Anchor Books.

Bernard, C. (1957). An introduction to the study of experimental medicine. New York, NY: Dover.

Berry, J. W. and Kim, U. (1993). The way ahead: From indigenous psychologies to a universal psychology. In U. Kim & J. W. Berry (Eds.), *Indigenous psychologies: Research and experience in cultural context* (pp. 277–280). Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Bhagwati, J. (1988). *Protectionism*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press.

Bhagwati, J. (2004). *In defense of Globalization*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

Bharati J. (Ed.) (1982). *The essence of Yogavaasishtha*. Chennai, India: Samata Books.

Bharati, A. (1985). The self in Hindu thought and action. In Marsella, A. J., DeVos, G., & Hsu, F. L. K. (Eds). *Culture and self: Asian and Western perspectives* (pp. 185–230). New York, NY: Tavistock Publications.

Bhattacharya, V. (1982). Famous Indian sages: Their immortal messages. New Delhi, India: Sagar Publications.

Bhawuk, D. P. S. (1997). Leadership through Relationship Management: Using the Theory of Individualism and Collectivism. In R. W. Brislin & K. Cushner (Eds.), *Improving intercultural interactions: Modules for cross-cultural training programs*, *Volume 2*, pp. 40–56. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Bhawuk, D. P. S. (1999). Who Attains Peace: An Indian Model of Personal Harmony. *Indian Psychological Review*, *52 (2 & 3)*, 40–48.

Bhawuk, D. P. S. (2001a). Looking for the Silver Lining: Integrative Potentials in International Project Negotiation. *Psychology and Developing Societies*, *13 (2)*, 243–262.

Bhawuk, D. P. S. (2001b). Evolution of culture assimilators: Toward theory-based assimilators. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, *25* (2), 141–163.

Bhawuk, D. P. S. (2003a). Culture's Influence on Creativity: The Case of Indian Spirituality. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, *27 (1)*, 1–22.

Bhawuk, D. P. S. (2003b). Bridging Science and Spirituality: Challenges for Yoga. Paper presented at the 14th International Conference on Frontiers of Yoga Research and Applications, December 18–21, 2003, Bangalore, India.

Bhawuk, D. P. S. (2004). Individualism and collectivism. In the *Encyclopedia of Leadership*, Volume 2, 706–710. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Bhawuk, D. P. S. (2005). A Model of Self, Work, and Spirituality from the *Bhagavad-Gita:* Implications for Self-Efficacy, Goal Setting, and Global Psychology. In K. Ramakrishna Rao and Sonali B. Marwaha (eds.), *Toward a Spiritual psychology: Essays in Indian Psychology* (pp. 41–71). New Delhi, India: Samvad Indian Foundation.

Bhawuk, D. P. S. (2006). Indigenous Approaches to Leadership Education: Gandhijee as an Exemplar. Paper presented at the 16th Annual Conference of Psychology, National Academy of Psychology, Mumbai, India, December 14–16, 2006.
Bhawuk, D. P. S. (2007a). Cultural Diversity in the United States. In David Levinson and Karen Christensen (Eds.), *Global Perspectives on the United States, Volume III* (pp. 67–70). Berkshire, Great Barrington: Massachusetts.
Bhawuk, D. P. S. (2007b). *Manas* in *Yajurveda*, *Bhagavad-Gita*, and Contemporary Culture: Beyond the Etic-Emic Research Paradigm. Paper presented at the National Seminar on Indian Psychology: Theories and Models, organized by Indian Council of Philosophical Research (ICPR), New Delhi and Swami Vivekananda Yoga Anusandhana Samsthana (SVYASA), Bangalore, 26–28 December 2007, SVYASA, Bangalore. (Invited lecture).
Bhawuk, D. P. S. (2008a). Science of Culture and Culture of Science: Worldview and Choice of Conceptual Models and Methodology. *The Social Engineer*, *11 (2)*, 26–43.
Bhawuk, D. P. S. (2008b). Globalization and Indigenous Cultures: Homogenization or Differentiation? *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, *32 (4)*, 305–317.
Bhawuk, D. P. S. (2008c) Anchoring Cognition, Emotion, and Behavior in Desire: A Model from the *Gita.*" In K. R. Rao, A. C. Paranjpe, & A. K. Dalal (Eds.), *Handbook of Indian Psychology* (pp. 390–413). New Delhi, India: Cambridge University Press.
Bhawuk, D. P. S. (2008d). Toward an Indian Organizational Psychology. In K. R. Rao, A. C. Paranjpe, & A. K. Dalal (Eds.), *Handbook of Indian Psychology* (pp. 471–491). New Delhi, India: Cambridge University Press.
Bhawuk, D. P. S. (2009). Intercultural Training for the Global Workplace: Review, Synthesis, and Theoretical Explorations. In Rabi S. Bhagat & R. Steers (Eds.), *Handbook of Culture, Organization, and Work* (pp. 462–488). Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
Bhawuk, D. P. S. (2010a). Methodology for building psychological models from scriptures: Contributions of Indian psychology to indigenous and global psychologies. *Psychology and Developing Societies*, *22 (1)*, 49–93.
Bhawuk, D. P. S. (2010b). Epistemology and Ontology of Indian Psychology: A Synthesis of Theory, Method, and Practice. *Psychology and Developing Societies*, *22 (1)*, pp. 157–190.
Bhawuk, D. P. S., Mrazek, S., & Munusamy, V. P. (2009). From social engineering to community transformation: Amul, Grameen Bank, and Mondragon as exemplar organizations. *Peace & Policy :Ethical Transformations for a Sustainable Future*, *vol. 14*, 36–63.
Bhawuk, D. P. S., & Munusamy, V. (2006). Are high achieving Asians individualists? In Edith W. Chen and Glenn Omatsu (Eds.), *Teaching about Asian Pacific Islanders: Effective Activities, Strategies, and Assignments for Classrooms and Workshops* (pp. 95–102), Lanham, MD: AltaMira Press.
Bhawuk, D. P. S., Munusamy, V. P., Bechtold, D. J., & Sakuda, K. (2007). Collectivism & Economic Success: A Cultural Model of Economic Development. Paper presented at the Academy of Management Conference, Philadelphia, August 3–8, 2007.
Bhawuk, D. P. S. & Srinivas, E. S. (2010). Indian Psychology: Theory, Method, and Content. Special issue of *Psychology and Developing Societies*, *22 (1)*
Blanchard, D. C. & Blanchard, R. J. (1984). Affect and aggression: An animal model applied to human behavior. In R. J. Blanchard & D. C. Blanchard (eds.), *Advances in the study of aggression* (pp. 1–58). New York, NY: Academic Press.
Blanchard, D. C. & Blanchard, R. J. (1988). Ethoexperimental approaches to the biology of emotion. *Annual Review of Psychology*, *39*: 43–68.
Bohra, K. A., & Pandey, J., (1984). Ingratiation toward different target persons: A stranger, a friend, and a boss. *Journal of Social Psychology*, 12 (2), 217–222.
Bond, M. (Ed.) (1997). *Working at the interface of cultures: 20 lives in social science*. London: Routledge.
BonJour, L. (2002). *Epistemology. Classic Problems and Contemporary Responses*. Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield.
Bontempo, R., & Rivero, J. C. (1992). *Cultural variation in cognition: The role of self-concept in the attitude behavior link*. Paper presented at the meetings of the American Management Association, Las Vegas, Nevada.

Boring, E. G. (1955). Dual role of Zeitgeist in scientific creativity. *Scientific Monthly*, *80*, 101–106.
Bose, A. B., & Gangrade, K. D. (1988). (Ed) *The Aging in India*
Bowers, D. G., & Seashore, S. E. (1966). Predicting organizational effectiveness with a four factor theory of leadership. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 11, 238–263.
Brecher, M. (1993). A passage to America. Bombay, India: Book Quest Publisher
Brewer, M. B., & Chen, Y-R. (2007). Where (Who) Are Collectives in Collectivism? Toward Conceptual Clarification of Individualism and Collectivism. *Psychological Review, 114(1),* 133–151.
Brinberg, D., & McGrath, J.E. (1985). *Validity and the research process*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
Buhler, G. (1969). *Manusmriti*. Canada: Dover, Orientalia.
Campbell, D. T., and Stanley, J. C. (1966). *Experimental and Quasi-experimental Designs for Research*. Chicago: Rand McNally.
Campbell, N. (1952). What is science? New York, NY: Dover.
Capra, F. (1975). *The Tao of physics*. New York: Bantam Books.
Carnevale, P.J., (1995). Property, culture, and negotiation. In R. Kramer & D. M. Messick (Eds), *Negotiation as a social process* (pp. 309–323). Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications.
Chaitanya, S. (2009). Personal communication.
Chakrabarty, A. (1994). Preface and introduction. In B. K. Matilal & A. Chakrabarty (eds.), *Knowing from words: Western and Indian philosophical analysis of understanding and testimony*. Dordrecht, the Netherlands: Kluwer Academic Publishers.
chAndogyopaniSad (1993). Gorakhpur, India: Gita press.
Chandrasekar, A. (2009). Personal communication.
Chattopadhyaya, G. P. (1975). Dependence in Indian culture: From mud huts to company board rooms. *Economic & Political Weekly*, 10(22), M30–M38.
Chen, C. C., Meindl, J. R. and Hunt, R. G. (1997). Testing the effects of vertical and horizontal collectivism: A study of reward allocation preferences in China. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, 28, 44–70
Chopra, D. (1988). Return of the Rishi. Boston, MA: Houghton Miffin Company.
Chun, D. (November 18, 2006). Pastors often succumb to job burnout due to stress, low pay. *The Honolulu Advertiser*, p. B3.
Churchman, C. W. (1961). *Prediction and optimal decision: Philosophical issues of a science of values*. Englewood, NJ: Prentice-Hall.
Churchman, C. W. (1971). The design of inquiring systems. New York, NY: Basic Books.
Clark, M. S., & Mills, J. (1979). Interpersonal attraction in exchange and communal relationships. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 37, 12–24.
Cohen, L. (1998). *No Aging in India: Alzheimer's, the Bad Family, and Other Modern Things*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
Cohen, S. G., & Bailey, D. E. (1997). What makes teams work: Group effectiveness research from the shop floor to the executive suite. *Journal of Management*, 23, 239–290.
Cook, T. D., & Campbell, D. T. (1979). *Quasi-experimentation: Design and analysis issues for field settings*. Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin Company.
Cornelissen, M. (2008). Consciousness. In K.R. Rao, K. R. A.C. Paranjpe & A.K. Dalal (Eds.), *Handbook of Indian Psychology* (pp. 414–428). New Delhi: Cambridge University Press.
Csikszentmihalyi, M. (1990). *Flow: The psychology of optimal experience*. New York: Harper & Row.
Dalal, A. K. (1996). A science in search of its identity: Twentieth Century psychology in India. *Indian Psychological Abstracts and Reviews*, *4*, 1–41.
Dalal, A. K. (2002). Psychology in India: A historical introduction. In G. Misra & A.K. Mohanty (Eds.), *Perspectives on indigenous psychology*. New Delhi: Concept.
Dalal, A. K., & Misra, G. (2010). The Core and Context of Indian Psychology. *Psychology and Developing Societies*, *22 (1)*.
Damasio, A. R. (1999). *The feeling of what happens: Body and emotion in the making of consciousness*. London: Heinemann.

Danziger, K. (1990). Constructing the subject: Historical origins of psychological research. Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press.

Das, G. (1993). Local memoirs of a global manager. *Harvard Business Review*, *71(2)*, 38–47.

Dasgupta, S. N. (1922–1955). *History of Indian philosophy*, *Vols. I–V*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Davis, M. (1971) That's interesting! Towards a phenomenology of sociology and a sociology of phenomenology. Philosophy of the Social Sciences, 4, 309–344.

De Dreu, C. K. W., & Weingart, L. R. (2003). Task versus relationship conflict, team performance, and team member satisfaction: A meta-analysis. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 88, 741–749.

Dewey, J. (1960). *The quest for certainty: A study of the relation of knowledge and action*. New York: Capricorn.

Diener, E., (2008). Myths in the science of happiness, and directions for future research. In M. Eid & R. J. Larsen, (Eds.). *The science of subjective well-being* (pp. 493–514). New York: Guilford Press.

Drucker, P. F. (1969). *Age of Discontinuity*. New York: Harper and Row.

Dunnette, M. D. & Hough, L. M. (Eds.). (1992). *Handbook of industrial and organizational psychology* (2nd edition) (Vol. 1–3). Palo Alto, CA: Consulting Psychologists Press.

Earley, P. C. (1989). Social loafing and collectivism: A comparison of the United States and the People's Republic of China. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 34, 565–581.

Earley, P. C. (1993). East meets west meets mideast: Further explorations of collectivistic and individualistic work groups. *Academy of Management Journal*, 36, 319–348.

Earley, P. C. (1994). Self or group? Cultural effects of training on self-efficacy and performance. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 39: 89–107.

Edgerton, F. (1944). *The Bhagavad Gita*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Ellis, C. (2004). *The ethnographic I: A methodological novel about teaching and doing autoethnography*. Walnut Creek, CA: AltaMira.

Ellis, C., & Bochner, A. P. (2000). Autoethnography, personal narrative, reflexivity: Researcher as subject. In N. K. Denzin & Y. S. Lincoln (Eds.), *Handbook of qualitative research* (2nd ed., pp 733–768). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

England, G. W. (1975). *The manager and his values: An international perspective*. Cambridge, MA: Ballinger publishing co.

England, G. W. (1978). Managers and their value system: A five country comparative study. *Columbia Journal of World Business*, 13 (2), 35–44.

Enriquez, V. G. (1977). Toward cross-cultural knowledge through cross-indigenous methods and perspectives. *Philippine Journal of Psychology*, *12*, 9–16.

Enriquez, V. G. (1981). *Decolonizing the Filipino psyche*. Quezon City: Psychology Research and Training House.

Enriquez, V. G. (1982). *Toward a Filipino psychology*. Quezon City: Psychology Research and Training House.

Enriquez, V. G. (ed.) (1990). *Indigenous psychology: A book of readings*. Akademya Ng Sikolohiyang Pilipino. Quezon City: Psychology Research and Training House.

Enriquez, V. G. (1993). Developing a Filipino psychology. In U. Kim & J. Berry (Eds.), *Indigenous psychologies: Research and experience in cultural context* (pp. 152–169). Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Erez, M., & Somech, A. (1996). Is group productivity loss the rule or the exception? Effects of culture and group-based motivation. *Academy of Management Journal*, 39, (6), 1513–1537.

Erez, M., Earley, P. C. (1993). *Culture, Self-identity, and Work*. New York: Oxford University Press

Fishbein, M., & Ajzen, I. (1975). *Belief, Attitude, Intention, and Behavior: An Introduction to Theory and Research*. Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley

Fleishman, E. A., Harris, E. F., & Burtt, H. E. (1955). *Leadership and supervision in industry*. Columbus, OH: Bureau of Educational Research, Ohio State University.

Forem, J. (1973). Transcendental Meditation: Maharishi Mahesh Yogi and the Science of Creative Intelligence. New York: E. D. Dutton & Co.

Foucault, M. (2002). *The order of things: An archaeology of the human sciences*: Brunner-Routledge.

Galton, F. (1869). Hereditary genius: An inquiry into its laws and consequences. London: Macmillan

Galtung, J. (1981). Structure, culture, and intellectual style: An essay comparing Saxonic, Teutonic, Gallic, and Nipponic approaches. *Social Science Information*, 20, 817–856.

Gambhiranand, S. (1972). *Eight Upanishads (Volume 1)*. Calcutta, India: Advaita Ashrama.

Gandhi, M. K. (2002). *gitA mAtA*. New Delhi, India: sastA sAhitya maNdal prakAzan. (Originally published in 1930).

Geertz, C. J. (1973). Thick description: Toward an interpretive theory of culture. In *The interpretation of cultures: selected essays* (pp. 3–30). New-York, NY: Basic Books.

Gelfand, M. J., Bhawuk, D. P. S., Nishii, L H., & Bechtold, D. J. (2004). Individualism and Collectivism. In House, R. J., Hanges, P. J., Javidan, M. J., Dorfman, P.W., Gupta, V. (Eds.), *Culture, Leadership, and Organizations: The GLOBE, Study of 62 Societies* (pp. 437–512). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Gergen, K. (1994). Exploring the postmodern: Perils or potentials. American Psychologist, 49, 412–416.

Gergen, K. (1999). An invitation to social construction. London: Sage.

Gergen, K. (2001). Psychological Science in postmodern context. *American Psychologist*, *56 (10)*, 803–813.

Gergen, K., Gulerce, A., Lock, A., & Mishra, G. (1996). Psychological Science in cultural context. *American Psychologist*, *51*, 496–503.

Gilbert, D. (2002) *The American Class Structure: In An Age of Growing Inequality*. Belmont, CA: Wadsworth.

Glaser, B. G., & Strauss A. L. (1967). *The discovery of grounded theory: Strategies for qualitative research*. New York, NY: Aldine De Gruytner.

Gollowitzer, P. M., Heckhausen, H., & Steller, B. (1990). Deliberative and implemental mind-sets: Cognitive tuning toward congruous thought and information. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *59*, 1119–1127.

Goyandaka, J. (2004). zrImad*bhagavadgItA: tatvavivecanI hindI-tIkAsahit*. Gorakhapur, India: Gita Press.

Graen, George B. & Wakabayashi, M. (1994). Cross-cultural leadership making: Bridging American and Japanese diversity for team advantage. In H. C. Triandis, M. D. Dunnette, & L. M. Hough (Eds.), *Handbook of industrial and organizational psychology* (2nd edition) (Vol. 4, pp. 415–446). Palo Alto, CA: Consulting Psychologists Press.

Grosch, W. N., & Olsen, D. C. (2000). Clergy burnout. An integrative approach. *Journal of Clinical Psychology*, *56* (5), 619–632.

Guilford, J. P. (1980). Foreword. In M. K. Raina (Ed.) Creativity research: International Perspective. New Delhi, India: National Council for Educational Research and Training.

Guillén, M. F. (2001). Is Globalization Civilizing, Destructive or Feeble? A Critique of Five Key Debates in the Social-Science Literature." *Annual Review of Sociology 27*, 235–260.

Guth, A. (1997). The inflationary universe. New York: Addison-Wesley.

Haack, S. (1974). Deviant Logic: Some philosophical issues. Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press.

Hackman, J. R. & Oldham, G. R. (1976). Motivation through the design of work: Test of a theory. *Organizational Behavior and Human Performance*, *16*, 250–279.

Hagelin, J. (1998). Manual for a perfect government. Fairfield, Iowa: Maharishi University of Management Press.

Hall, E. T. (1959). *The silent language*. New York, NY: Doubleday and Company.

Han, G., & Park, B. (1995). Children's choice in conflict: Application of the theory of individualism-collectivism. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, *26 (3*), 298–313

Haruki, Y., Shigehisa, T., Nedate, K., Wajima, M., & Ogawa, R. (1984). Effects of alien-reinforcement and its combined type on learning behavior and efficacy in relation to personality. *International Journal of Psychology*, 19, 527–545.

Hasegawa, H. (1995). A sociotypological approach to Japan's economic development. *The International Executive*, *37(5)*, 437–449.

Haslam, S. A., Ellemers, N., Platow, M. J., Knippenberg, D. V. (2003). (Eds.). *Social Identiy at work: Developing theory of organizational practice*. London, UK: Psychology Press.

Herzberg, F. (1966). *Work and nature of man*. New York: World publishing co.

Hess, W. T. (1957). The functional organization of the diencephalon. New York, NY: Grune & Stratton.

Hochschild, A. R. (1998). The sociology of emotion as a way of seeing. In G. Bendelow and S. J. Williams (eds.), *Emotions in social life: Critical themes and contemporary issues*, pp. 3–15. New York, NY: Routledge.

Hofstede G. (1980). *Cultures Consequences*. California: Sage.

Hofstede, G. (1994). Management scientists are human. *Management Science*, Vol. 40 (1), pp. 4–13

Hofstede G. (2001). *Cultures Consequences (2nd ed.).* California: Sage.

Hofstede, G., Neuijen, B., Ohayv, D. D., Sanders, G. (1990). Measuring Organizational Cultures: A Qualitative and Quantitative Study across Twenty Cases. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 35 (2), 286–316.

Holton, G. (1973). Thematic origins of scientific thought, Kepler to Einstein. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Holton, R. (2000). Globalization's cultural consequences. *Annals, AAPSS*, *570*, 140–152.

Homes, E. (1926). *The science of mind*. Del Rey, CA: Devorss Publications.

House, R. J., Hanges, P. J., Javidan, M. J., Dorfman, P.W., Gupta, V. (Eds.) (2004), *Culture, Leadership, and Organizations: The GLOBE, Study of 62 Societies*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Hui, C. H., & Triandis, H. C. (1986). Individualism- collectivism: A study of cross cultural researchers. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, 17, 225–248.

Hwang, K. K. (1987). Face and favor: The Chinese power game. *American Journal of Sociology*, *92 (4)*, 944–974.

Hwang, K. K. (1988). *Confucianism and East Asian modernization* (in Chinese). Taipei: Chu-Lin Book Co.

Hwang, K. K. (1995). *Knowledge and action: A social psychological interpretation of Chinese cultural tradition* (in Chinese). Taipei: Sin-Li.

Hwang, K. K. (1997–98). Guanxi and mientze: Conflict resolution in Chinese society. Intercultural Communication Studies, 3, 17–37.

Hwang, K. K. (1999). Filial piety and loyalty: The types of social identification in Confucianism. *Asian Journal of Social Psychology*, *2*, 129–149.

Hwang, K. K. (2000). On Chinese relationalism: Theoretical construction and methodological considerations. *Journal for the Theory of Social Behavior*, *30*, 155–178.

Hwang, K-K, (2004). The epistemological goal of indigenous psychology: The perspective of constructive realism. In Setiadi, B. N., Supratiknya, A., Lonner, W. J., and Poortinga, Y. H. (Eds.), *On going themes in psychology and culture* (pp. 169–185). Florida, USA: International Association for Cross-Cultural Psychology.

Hwang, K. K. (2006). Constructive realism and Confucian relationalism: An epistemological strategy for the development of indigenous psychology. In U. Kim, K-S Yang, & K-K Hwang (Eds.), *Indigenous and cultural psychology: Understanding people in context* (pp. 73–107). New York: Springer.

Inglehart, R. (1997). *Modernization and postmodernization: Cultural, economic, & political change in 43 societies*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Inglehart, R. F. (2003). *Culture and Social Change: Findings from the Value Surveys*. Leiden: Brill Academic Publishers.

Isherwood, C. (1965). Ramakrishna and his disciples. New York, NY: Simon & Schuster.

Ishwarchandra (2004). *Yajurveda Samhita*. India, New Delhi: Parimala Publications.

Iyengar, T. R. R. (1997). *Hinduism and scientific quest*. New Delhi, India: D. K. Printworld.

Izard, C. E. (1972). *Patterns of emotions: A new analysis of anxiety and depression*. New York, NY: Academic.

Izard, C. E. (1991). *The psychology of emotions*. New York, NY: Plenum Press.

James, W. (1890). *Principles of psychology*. New York, NY: Holt.

Johnson, S. (2000). *Who Moved My Cheese? An Amazing Way to Deal with Change in Your Work and in Your Life*. Putnam Publishing Group.

Jones, E. E. (1964). *Ingratiation: A social psychological analysis*. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts.

Jones, E. E., Gergen, K. J., & Jones, R. G. (1963). Tactics of ingratiation among leaders and subordinates in a status hierarchy. *Psychological Monographs*, 77, Whole Number 566.

Jones, E. E., & Pitman, T. S. (1982). Toward a general theory of strategic self-presentation. In J. Suls (Ed.), *Psychological perspectives on the self*. Hillsdale, New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Jones, E. E., & Wortman, C. (1973). *Ingratiation: An attributional approach*. Morristown, New Jersey: General Learning Corporation.

Jounard, S. M. (1971). *Self-disclosure: An experimental analysis of the transparent self*. New York: Wiley-Inerscience.

Kagitcibasi, C. (1994). A critical appraisal of individualism and collectivism: Toward a new formulation. In U. Kim, H. C. Triandis, C. Kagitcibasi, S. Choi, G. Yoon (Eds.), *Individualism and collectivism: Theory, method, and applications* (pp. 52–65). Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE.

Kakar, S. (1996). *The Indian psyche*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press.

Kennedy, P. (1988). *The Rise and Fall of the Great Powers: Economic Change and Military Conflict from 1500 to 2000*. New York: Random House

Kim, U. (1994). Individualism and collectivism: Conceptual clarification and elaboration. In U. Kim, H. C. Triandis, C. Kagitcibasi, S. Choi, G. Yoon (Eds.), *Individualism and collectivism: Theory, method, and applications* (pp. 19–40). Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE.

Kim, U., Yang, K. S., & Hwang, K. K. (2006). Contributions to indigenous and cultural psychology: Understanding people in context. In U. Kim, K. S. Yang, & K. K. Hwang, (Eds.) *Indigenous and cultural psychology: Understanding people in context* (pp. 3– 25). New York, NY: Springer.

Kluckhohn, F., & Strodtbeck, F. (1961). *Variations in value orientations*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press.

Knickerbocker, B. (2007). World first: In 2008 most people will live in cities. *The Christian Science Monitor*, January 12, 2007.

Koestler, A. (1978). Janus: A summing up. New York, NY: Vintage Books.

Kolodner, J. L. (1983). Maintaining organization in a dynamic long-term memory. *Cognitive Science*, 7(4), 335–346.

Kroeber, A. L., (1944). *Configurations of culture growth*. Berkley: University of California Press.

Kuhn, M. H., & McPartland, R. (1954). An empirical investigation of self-attitudes. *American Sociological Review*, *19*, 68–76.

Kuhn, T. S. (1962). *The structure of scientific revolutions*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

Kumar, S.K.K. (2008). Indian thought and tradition: A psycho-historical perspective. In K.R. Rao, K. R. A.C. Paranjpe & A.K. Dalal (Eds.), *Handbook of Indian Psychology* (pp. 19–52). New Delhi: Cambridge University Press.

Latane, B., Williams, K. D., & Harkins, S. (1979). Many hands make light the work: The causes and consequences of social loafing. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 37, 822–832

Leavitt, J. (1996). Meaning and feeling in the anthropology of emotions. *American Ethnologist*, 23 (3), 514–539.

Lebowitz, M. (1983). Generalization from natural language text. *Cognitive Science*, *7(1)*, 35–46.

Lesser, R. H. (1992). Saints and sages of India. New Delhi, India: Intercultural Publisher.

Leung, K., & Bond, M. H. (2004). Social axioms: A model for social beliefs in multicultural perspective. *Advances in Experimental Social Psychology*, Vol. 36, 119–197. San Diego, CA: Elsevier Academic Press

Leung, K., & Bond, M. H. (2009). (eds.) *Beliefs around the World: Advancing Research on Social Axioms* (pp. 81–93). New York, NY: Springer.

Levitt, T. (1983). The Globalization of Markets, *Harvard Business Review*, *61(3)*, 92–102.

Lewis, W. A. (1954). Economic development with unlimited supplies of labour. *The Manchester School*, *22* (*2*), 139–191.

Lie, J. (1996). Globalization and its discontents. *Contemporary Sociology*, *25*, 585–587.

Likert, R. (1961). *New patterns of management*. New York, NY: McGraw-Hill.

Linde, A. (1994, November). The self-reproducing inflationary universe. Scientific American, 48–55.

Liu, J. H. (in press). Asian epistemologies and contemporary social psychological research. In N. Denzin & Y. Lincoln (Eds.), *Handbook of Qualitative Research, 4th ed*. Thousand Oaks: CA: Sage

Liu, J. H., & Hilton, D. (2005). How the past weighs on the present: Social representations of history and their role in identity politics. *British Journal of Social Psychology*, *44 (4)*, 537–556.

Locke, E. A. (Ed.) (1986). *Generalizing from laboratory to field settings*. Lexington, MA: Lexington books.

Lucey, M. (1996) "Stay Negative Please." What's So Difficult About That? Theorizing Desire in the Time of AIDS. Paper presented at the opening plenary of Managing Desire: HIV Prevention Strategies for the 21st Century, April 9, 1996. Berkeley, California. http://www.managingdesire.org/ConferencePapersIndex.html.

Lupton, D. (1998). *The emotional self: A sociocultural exploration*. London, UK: Sage.

Lyon, M. (1998). The limitations of cultural constructionism in the study of emotion. In G. Bendelow and S. J. Williams (eds.), *Emotions in social life: Critical themes and contemporary issues* (pp. 39–59). New York, NY: Routledge.

MacLean CR, Walton KG, Wenneberg SR, Levitsky DK, Mandarino JP, Waziri R, Hillis SL, Schneider RH. (1997). Effects of the Transcendental Meditation program on adaptive mechanisms: changes in hormone levels and responses to stress after 4 months of practice. Psychoneuroendocrinology, 22(4), 277–95.

Mahesh Yogi, Maharishi Bala Brahmachari (1953). Beacon light of the Himalayas – The dawn of the happy new era. Kerala, India: Adhyatmic Vikas Mandal.

Maples, M. F. (1988). Group development: Extending Tuckman's theory. *Journal for Specialists in Group Work*, Fall, 17–23.

Markus, H. R., & Kitayama, S. (1991). Culture and the self: Implications for cognition, emotion, and motivation. *Psychological Review*, 98, 224–253.

Markus, H. R., & Kitayama, S. K. (1994). The cultural construction of self and emotion: Implications for social behavior. In S. K. Kitayama & H. R. Markus (Eds.) *Emotion and culture: empirical studies of mutual influence*. Washington: APA

Marsella, A. J. (1985). Culture, self, and mental disorder. In Marsella, A. J., DeVos, G., & Hsu, F. L. K. (Eds). *Culture and self: Asian and western perspectives*. New York, NY: Tavistock Publications.

Marsella, A. J. (1994). The measurement of emotional reactions to work: Conceptual, methodological, and research issues. *Work and Stress*, *8* (*2*), 153–176.

Marsella, A. J. (1998). Toward a "Global-Community Psychology," *American Psychologist*, *53* (*12*), 1282–1291.

Maslow, Abraham (1954). *Motivation and Personality*. New York: Harper.

Mason, P. (1994). The Maharishi. Rockport, MA: Element.

Matsui, T., Kakuyama, T., & Onglatco, M. L. (1987). Effects of goals and feedback on performance in groups. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 72, 407–415.

Maugham, W. S. (1944). *The razor's edge*. London, UK: Penguin.

McClelland, D. C. (1961). *The achieving society*. New York: Free Press.

McConnell, M. (1998). Faith can help you heal. The Reader's Digest, October 1998, 109–113.

Meyer, L. B. (1967). Music, the arts and ideas. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Milton, K. (2005). Emotion. *Australian Journal of Anthropology*, *16* (*2*), 198–211.

Mischewski, A., (1996). Does Desire Displace Knowledge? (Re)Doing HIV Prevention. Paper presented at the Managing Desire: HIV Prevention Strategies for the 21st Century, April 9, 1996. Berkeley California. http://www.managingdesire.org/ConferencePapersIndex.html.

Misra G. (2004). Emotion in modern psychology and Indian thought. In Kirit Joshi & Matthijs Cornellissen (Eds.) *Consciousness, science society and yoga*. New Delhi: Centre for the Studies of Civilization.

Misra, G. (2005). The science of affect: Some Indian insights In K. Ramakrishna Rao & Sonali Bhatt-Marwah (eds.), *Towards a spiritual Psychology: Essays in Indian psychology* (pp. 229–248). New Delhi : Samvad India Foundation.

Misra, G. (2007). *Psychology and societal development: Paradigmatic and social concerns*. New Delhi: Concept.

Misra, G., & Gergen, K.J. (1993). On the place of culture in psychological science. *International Journal of Psychology*, *28*, 225–243.

Misra, G., & Mohanty, A. (eds.) (2002). *Perspectives on indigenous psychology*. New Delhi: Concept.

Mishra, G., Srivastava, A. K., & Mishra, I. (2006). Culture and facets of creativity: The Indian experience. In James C. Kaufman & Robert J. Sternberg (Eds.) *International handbook of creativity* (pp. 421–455). New York: Cambridge University Press.

Mitroff, I. I. (1974). Norms and counter-norms in a select group of Apollo moon scientists: A case study of the ambivalence of scientists. American Sociological Review, 39, 579–595.

Mitroff, I. I., & Kilman, R. H. (1978). *Methodological approaches to social science*. San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.

Mohanty, A. K. (2007). *How are Dominated and Minority Languages Maintained?* Study of Collective Action in Two Tribal Cultures in India. Invited paper presented at the University of Hawaii at Manoa on October 29, 2007**.**

Monier-Williams, M. (1960). *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press. Reprinted in 1960.

Moon, B. K. (2009). Remarks to the Third Meeting of the Global Forum on Migration and Development (4 November – Athens, Greece)

Moore, Charles A. (1967). Introduction: The comprehensive Indian mind. In Charles A. Moore (ed.) *The Indian mind: Essentials of Indian philosophy and culture* (pp. 1–18). Hawaii, Honolulu: University of Hawaii press.

Muller, M. F. (1898). Ramakrishna: His life and sayings. London, UK: Longmans, Green & Co.

Munusamy, V. P. (2008). *Decoding the meaning of multiculturalism: An international study of Malaysia, Singapore, and Hawaii.* Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Hawaii at Manoa.

Munusamy, V. P. (2009). Personal Communication.

Murthy, S. R. N. (1997). *Vedic view of the earth: A geological insight into the Vedas*. New Delhi, India: D. K. Printworld.

Naisbitt, J., & Aburdene, P. (1990). *Megatrends 2000*. Basingstoke, Hants: PAN Books.

Nambudiri, C. N. S., & Saiyadain, M. S. (1978). Management problems and practices – India and Nigeria. *Columbia Journal of World Business*, 13 (2), 62–70.

Narasimha, N. S. (1987). The way of Vaishnava sages: A medieval story of South Indian Sadhus. Lanham, MD: University Press of America.

Neimeyer, R. A. (Ed.) (2001). *Meaning reconstruction and the experience of loss*. Washington, DC: American Psychological Association.

Nikhilananda, S. (1977). Introduction. The gospel of Sri Ramakrishna. A translation of the Bengali book by Sri M. New York, NY: Ramakrishna-Vivekananda Center.

Nisbett, R. E., Peng, K., Choi, I., & Norenzayan, A. (2001). Culture and systems of thought: Holistic versus analytic cognition. Psychological Review, 108 (2), 291–310.

Osborn, A. F. (1953). Applied imagination. New York, NY: Scribner's.

Osborne, A. (1954). *Raman Maharshi and the path of self-knowledge*. London, UK: Rider and Company. (Reprinted in 1970).

Osland, J., Kolb, D. A., & Rubin, I. M. (2001). *Organizational behavior: An experiential approach* (seventh edition). Englewood Cliff, NJ: Prentice Hall.

Otto, T. G. (1876). *The life and letters of Lord Macaulay*. New York, NY: Harper & brothers.

Oyserman, D., Coon, H. M., & Kemmelmeier, M. (2002). Rethinking individualism and collectivism: Evaluation of theoretical assumptions and meta-analyses *Psychological Bulletin*. 128, 3–72.

Padalo, R. (1988). Job Attitudes. In J. Pandey (Ed.), *Psychology in India: The state of the art, Volume III* (pp. 19–95). New Delhi: Sage.

Padki, R. (1988). Job attitudes. In J. Pandey (ed.), *Psychology in India: the state-of-the-art* (volume 3), pp. 19–95.

Pandey, J. (1978). Ingratiation: A review of literature and relevance of its study in organizational setting. *Indian Journal of Industrial Relations*, 13, 381–398.

Pandey, J. (1980). Ingratiation: as expected and manipulative behavior in Indian society. *Social Change*, 10, 15–17.

Pandey, J. (1981). Ingratiation: as a social behavior. In J. Pandey (Ed.), *Perspectives on experimental social psychology in India*. New Delhi: Concept.

Pandey, J. (1986). Cross-cultural perspectives on ingratiation. In B. Maher, & W. Maher (Ed.), *Progress in experimental personality research*. New York: Academic Press.

Pandey, J. (1988). Social influence process. In J. Pandey (Ed.), *Psychology in India: The state of the art* (volume 2) (pp. 55–93). New Delhi: Sage Publications.

Pandey, J. (1998). Personal communication

Pandey, J. (Ed.) (2000) Psychology in India Revisited: Developments in the Discipline: Physiological Foundation and Human Cognition, (Vol. 1) New Delhi: Sage Publishers.

Pandey, J. (Ed.) (2001) Psychology in India Revisited: Developments in the Discipline: Personality and Health Psychology, (Vol. 2) New Delhi: Sage Publications.

Pandey, J., & Bohra, K. A., (1986). Attraction and evaluation as the function of ingratiating style of a person. *Social Behavior and Personality*, 14 (1).

Pandey, J., & Kakkar, S. (1982). Cross-cultural differences and similarities in ingratiation tactics as social influence and control mechanism. In R. Rath, H. S. Asthana, D. Sinha, & J. B. P. Sinha (Eds.), *Diversity and unity in cross-cultural psychology*. Lisse: Swets & Zeitlinger, B.V.

Paranjpe, A. C. (1984). *Theoretical psychology: The meeting of East and West*. New York: Plenum Press.

Paranjpe, A. C. (1986). The self beyond cognition, action, pain, and pleasure: An eastern perspective. In K. Yardley & T. Honess (Eds.), *Self and identity: Psychosocial perspectives*. New York: John Wiley.

Paranjpe, A. C. (1988). A personality theory according to Vedanta. In A. C. Paranjpe, D. Y. F. Ho, & R. W. Rieber (Eds.), *Asian contribution to psychology*. New York: Praeger.

Paranjpe, A. C. (1998). *Self and identity in modern psychology and Indian thought*. New York: Plenum Press.

Paranjpe, A. (2010). Theories of Self and Cognition: Indian Psychological Perspectives. *Psychology and Developing Societies*, *22 (1)*.

Pareek, U. (1968). A motivational paradigm for development. *Journal of Social Issues*, *24*, 112–115.

Parkinson, B. (1995). *Ideas and realities of emotion*. New York, NY: Routledge.

Patton, M. Q. (2002). *Qualitative research and evaluation methods (3rd Ed.)*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Pawlik, K. (Ed.) (1991). The psychological dimension of global change [Whole Issue]. International Journal of Psychology, 20.

Perugini, M., & Bagozzi, R. P. (2001). The role of desires and anticipated emotions in goal-directed behaviors: Broadening and deepening the theory of planned behavior. *British Journal of Social Psychology*, *40*, 79–98.

Peters, T. J., & Waterman, R. H. (1982). *In search of excellence: Lessons from America's best-run companies*. Cambridge, MA: Harper & Row Publishers.

Pirsig, R. M. (1991). *Lila: An inquiry into morals*. New York: Bantam Books.

Plutchik, R. & Kellerman, H. (1986). *Emotion: Theory, research, and experience vol III: Biological foundations of emotion*. New York, NY: Academic

Poortinga, Y. H. (1996). Indigenous psychology: Scientific ethnocentrism in a new guise? In J. Pandey, D. Sinha, and S. P. S. Bhawuk (Eds.), *Asian contributions to cross-cultural psychology* (pp. 59–71). New Delhi/Thousand Oaks/London: Sage.

Prabhupad, A. C. B. S. (1986). *Bhagavad-Gita as it is*. Los Angeles, CA: Bhaktivedanta Book Trust.
Prasad, M. N. (1995). *The Kena Upanishad*. (Explanatory notes by the author). New Delhi, India: D. K. Printworld.
Puligandla, R. (1997). *Reality and mysticism: Perspectives in the Upanishads*. New Delhi, India: D. K. Printworld.
Quine, W. V. (1948). On what there is. *The Review of Metaphysics*, *Vol. 2, No. 5*, pp. 21–38.
Radhakrishnan, S., & Moore, C. A. (Eds.) (1957). *A source book in Indian philosophy*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
Raina, M. K. (Ed.) (1980) *Creativity research: International Perspective*. New Delhi, India: National Council for Educational Research and Training.
Rander, M., & Winokur, S. (1970). (Eds.) Analyses of theories and methods in physics and psychology. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
Rao, K. R. (2008). Applied Yoga Psychology The Case of Neurophysiology of Meditation. Paper presented in the Symposium on “Indian Psychology: Theory, Methods, and Trends” organized by Dharm P. S. Bhawuk & E. S. Srinivas at the XVIII[th] Annual Conference of the National Academy of Psychology (NAoP), December 14–17, 2008.
Rao, R. K., & Marwaha, S. B. (eds.) (2005). *Toward a Spiritual psychology: Essays in Indian Psychology* (pp. 229–249). New Delhi, India: Samvad Indian Foundation.
Rao, T. V. (1981). Psychology of work. In U. Pareek (Ed.), *A surevey of research in psychology, Part II* (pp. 476–576). New Delhi: ICSSR.
Ratner, C. (2006). *Cultural psychology: A perspective on psychological functioning and social reform*. New York: Erlbaum.
Rodrik, D. (1997). Sense and Nonsense in the Globalization Debate. *Foreign Policy*, 107, 19–37.
Roe, A. (1961). The psychology of the scientist. *Science*, *134*, No. 3477, 456–459.
Rolland, R. (1960). The life of Ramakrishna. Mayavati, India: Advaita Ashram.
Rosenthal, R., & Rosnow, R. L. (1991). Essentials of behavioral research: Methods and data analysis. New York, NY: McGraw Hill.
Sarton, G. (1962). The history of science and the new humanism. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
Schank, R. C. (1982). *Dynamic memory: A theory of reminding and learning in computers and people*. Cambridge: Cambridge University press.
Schroeder, G. L. (1998). *The Science of God: The convergence of scientific and Biblical wisdom*. New York, NY: Free Press.
Schwartz, S. H. (1990). Individualism-collectivism: Critique and proposed refinements. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, 21, 139–157.
Schwartz, S. H. (1992). Universals in the content and structure of values: theoretical advances and empirical tests in 20 countries. In M. Zanna (Ed.) *Advances in Experimental Social Psychology* (Vol. 25). New York: academic Press.
Schwartz, S. H. (1994). Beyond individualism and collectivism: New cultural dimensions of values. In U. Kim, H. C. Triandis, C. Kagitcibasi, S. Choi, G. Yoon (Eds.), Individualism and collectivism: Theory, method, and applications. Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE.
Sharma, B. R. (1974). *The Indian industrial worker: Issues in perspective*. New Delhi: vikas.
Sharp, H. (1965). *Selections from educational records Part I (1781–1839)*. New Delhi, India: National Archives of India. (First published in 1920 from Calcutta by Superintendent Government Printing.)
Sheldon, W. H. (1951). Main contrasts between Eastern and Western philosophy. In Charles A. Moore, (Ed.) *Essays in East-West Philosophy* (pp. 288–297). Honolulu, University of Hawaii Press.
Sholapurkar, G. R. (1992). Saints and sages of India. New Delhi, India: Bharatiya Vidya Prakashan
Shourie, A. (1980). *Hinduism: Essence and Consequences.* Stosius Inc/Advent Books Division.
Shweder, R. A. (1990). Cultural psychology—what is it? In J. W. Stigler, R. A. Shweder, & G. Herdt (Eds.), *Cultural psychology: Essays on comparative human development* (pp. 1–43). New York: Cambridge University Press.

Shweder, R. A. (1993). The cultural psychology of emotions. In M. Lewis and J. Hovland (Eds.), *Handbook of emotions*. New York, NY: Guilford Press.

Shweder, R. A., Mahapatra, M., & Miller, J. G. (1987). Culture and moral development. In J. Kagan & S. Lamb (Eds*.), The emergence of morality in young children* (pp. 1–83). Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Simonton, D. K. (1984). Genius, creativity, and leadership: Historiometric inquiries. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Simonton, D. K. (1988). Galtonian genius, Kroeberian configurations, and emulations: A generational time-series analysis of Chinese civilization. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *55*, 230–238.

Simonton, D. K. (1994). Greatness: Who makes history and why. New York: Guilford.

Simonton, D. K. (1996). Individual Genius within cultural configurations: The case of Japanese Civilization. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, *27 (3)*, 354–375.

Singelis, T. M., Triandis, H. C., Bhawuk, D. P. S., & Gelfand, M. (1995) Horizontal and vertical dimensions of individualism and collectivism: A theoretical and measurement refinement. *Cross-Cultural Research*, 29, 240–275.

Singh, P. (1948). Saints and sages of India. New Delhi, India: New Book Society of India.

Sinha, D. & Tripathi, R. C. (1994). Individualism in a collectivist culture: A case of coexistence of opposites. In U. Kim, H. C. Triandis, C. Kagitcibasi, S. Choi, G. Yoon (Eds.), Individualism and collectivism: Theory, method, and applications (pp. 123–136). Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE.

Sinha, D. (1965). Integration of modern psychology with Indian thought. *Journal of Humanistic Psychology*, Spring, 6–21. Reprinted in A. J. Sutchi & M.A. Vick (Eds.), *Readings in humanistic psychology* (pp. 265–279). New York: Free Press.

Sinha, D., & Kao, H. S. R. (1988) (Eds.). *Social values and development: Asian perspectives*. New Delhi, India: Sage.

Sinha, J. (1933). *Indian psychology* (Volume 1 and 2). London, UK: Kegan Paul.

Sinha, J. B. P. (1970). *Development through behaviour modification*. Bombay: Allied Publishers.

Sinha, J. B. P. (1980). *The nurturant task leader*. New Delhi: Concept Publishing House.

Sinha, J. B. P. (1981). Organizational dynamics. In U. Pareek (Ed.), *A surevey of research in psychology, Part II* (pp. 415–475). New Delhi: ICSSR.

Sinha, J. B. P. (2010). Living and Doing Psychology. *Psychology and Developing Societies*, *22 (1).*

Sismondo, S. (1993). Some social constructions. Social Studies of Science, 23 (3), pp. 515–553.

Slobin, D. I. (1990). The development from child speaker to native speaker. In J. W. Stigler, R. A. Shweder, & G. Herdt (Eds.), Cultural psychology: Essays on comparative human development (pp. 233–256). New York: Cambridge University Press.

Smith, K., Delle Fave, A., Massimini, F., Christopher, J., Richardson, F., Bhawuk, D. P. S. (2002). Post-Newtonian Metatheories in the Natural Sciences and in Cross-Cultural Psychology. In Pawel Boski, Fons van de Vijver, Malgorzata A. Chodynicka (Eds.) New Directions for Cross-Cultural Psychology (pp. 107–125). Warsaw: Polish Academy of Sciences.

Smith, L. T. (1999). *Decolonizing methodologies*. London: Zed Books.

Soodan, K. S. (1975). *Aging in India.*

Sri Ram (1997). *Spiritual sayings of Sri Ram*. New Delhi, India: Sterling Publishers.

Stake, R. E. (2005). Qualitative case studies. In N. K. Denzin & Y. S. Lincoln (Eds.), *The Sage Handbook of qualitative research* (3rd ed., *pp. 443–466*). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Stenger, V. J. (1999). Anthropic design: Does the cosmos show evidence of purpose? Skeptical Inquirer, 23 (4), 18–27.

Sternberg, R. J., & Grigorenko, E. L. (2001). Unified psychology. *American Psychologist*, 56 (12), 1069–1079.

Svare, B. (ed.) (1983). *Hormones and aggressive behavior*. New York, NY: Plenum.

Swami Abhedananda, (1967). *Yoga psychology*. Kolkata, India: Ramakrishna Vedanata Math.

Swami Prabhavananda (2005). *Patanjali yoga sutras*. Chennai, India: Sri Ramakrishna Math.

Swidler, A. (1986). Culture in Action: Symbols and Strategies." *American Sociological Review*. *51*: 273–286.

Tapasyanand, S. (1986). *zrI viSNu sahasranAma*. Madras, India: Sri Ramakrishna Math.

Targowski, A., & Metwalli, A. (2003). A framework for asymmetric communication among cultures. *Dialogue & Universalism. 13(7/8)*, 49–67.

Taub, M., & Tullier, M. (1998). *Work Smart: The 250 Smart Moves Your Boss Already Knows*. New York, NY: Random House.

Thomas, R., Mills, A. J., Helms-Mills, J. (2004). (Eds). *Identity politics at work. Resisting gender, gendering resistance*. UK: Routledge.

Thompson, W. & Hickey, J. (2005). *Society in Focus*. Boston, MA: Pearson, Allyn & Bacon;

Toffler, A. (1970). *Future Shocks*. New York: Bantom Books.

Torelli, C. J., & Shavitt, S. (2010). Culture and concepts of power. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*. 99(4), 703–723.

Travis F, & Pearson C. (2000). Pure consciousness: distinct phenomenological and physiological correlates of "consciousness itself". Intrnational Journal of Neuroscience, 100 (1–4), 77–89.

Travis F, Wallace RK. (1999). Autonomic and EEG patterns during eyes-closed rest and transcendental meditation (TM) practice: the basis for a neural model of TM practice. Conscious Cognition, 8(3), 302–18.

Triandis, H. C. (1972). *The analysis of subjective culture*. New York: Wiley.

Triandis, Harry, C. (1979). Values, attitudes, and interpersonal behavior, in Howe, H.E. and Page, M.M. (Eds.), *Nebraska Symposium on Motivation*. Lincoln, NE: Nebraska University Press, 196–259.

Triandis, H. C. (1989). The self and social behavior in differing cultural contexts. *Psychological Review*, 96, 506–520.

Triandis, H. C. (1990). Cross-cultural studies of individualism and collectivism. In J. Bremen (Ed.), *Nebraska symposium on motivation*, 1989 (pp. 41–133). Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.

Triandis, H. C. (1994a). Cross-cultural industrial and organizational psychology. In H. C. Triandis, M. D. Dunnette, & L. M. Hough (Eds.), *Handbook of industrial and organizational psychology* (2nd edition) (Vol. 4, pp. 103–172). Palo Alto, CA: Consulting Psychologists Press.

Triandis, H. C. (1994b). *Culture and social behavior*. New York: McGraw-Hill.

Triandis, H. C. (1995). *Individualism and collectivism*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.

Triandis, H. C. (1998). Personal Communication.

Triandis, H. C. (2000). Dialectics between cultural and cross-cultural psychology. *Asian Journal of Social Psychology*, 3, 185–196.

Triandis, H. C. (2009). *Fooling ourselves: Self deception in politics, religion, and terrorism*. Westport, CT: Praeger.

Triandis, H. C., & Bhawuk, D. P. S. (1997). Culture theory and the meaning of relatedness. In P. C. Earley & M. Erez (Eds.), *New perspectives on international industrial/organizational psychology* (pp. 13–52). New York, NY: The New Lexington Free Press.

Triandis, H. C., Bontempo, R., Villareal, M. J., Asai, M., & Lucas, N. (1988). Individualism and collectivism: Cross-cultural perspectives on self-ingroup relationships. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 54, 323–338.

Triandis, H. C., Chen, X. P., & Chan, D. K.-S. (1998). Scenarios for the measurement of collectivism and individualism. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, 29, 275–289.

Triandis, H. C., & Gelfand, M. J. (1998). Converging measurement of horizontal and vertical individualism and collectivism. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 74, 118–128.

Triandis, H. C., Leung, K., Villareal, M., & Clark, F. L. (1985). Allocentric vs. idiocentric tendencies: Convergent and discriminant validation. *Journal of Research in Personality*, 19, 395–415.

Triandis, H. C., McCusker, C., & Hui, C. H. (1990). Multimethod probes of individualism and collectivism. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 59, 1006–1020.

Tricks, H. (2005). Happiness begins with a wealth of experience. *The Financial Times*, November 6, p. 1.

Tuckman, B. W., & Jensen, M. C. (1977). Stages of small group development revisited. *Group and Organizational Studies*, 2, 419–427.

Vanucci, M. (1994). *Ecological readings in the Veda: Matter-energy-life*. New Delhi, India: D. K. Printworld.

Varma, S B. L. (1975). *Gita visvakosha (volume 1 and 2)*. Bareli, Uttar Pradesh, India: Sanskriti Sansthan.

Varma, S. (2005). From self to the Self: An expansion of personality based on the works of Sri Aurobindo. In K.Ramakrishna Rao & Sonali Bhatt-Marwah (eds.), *Towards a spiritual Psychology: Essays in Indian psychology* (pp. 169–209). New Delhi: Samvad India Foundation.

Vaughan, F. (1999). Essential dimensions of consciousness: Objective, subjective, and intersubjective. In S. R. Hameroff, A. W. Kaszniak, & D. J. Chalmers (Eds.), *Toward a science of consciousness III* (pp. 429–439). Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Vuitton Machine (2004). Vuitton Machine : Inside the world's biggest, most profitable luxury brand. (2004, March 22). *Business Week*, pp. 98–102.

Wallace, R. K. (1970). The physiological effects of transcendental meditation. Science, 167, 1751–1754.

Wallace, R. K., & Benson, H. (February, 1972). The philosophy of meditation. Scientific American, pp. 84–90.

Watson, J. B. (1913). Psychology as the behaviorist views it. *Psychological Review*, *20*, 158–177.

Weber M. (1930). *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* (Translated by Talcott Parsons & Anthony Giddens). Boston : Unwin Hyman.

Wentworth, W. M., & Yardley, D. (1994). Deep sociality: A bioevolutionary perspective on the sociology of human emotions. In W. M. Wentworth and J. Ryan (eds.), *Social perspectives on emotion*, pp. 21–55. Volume 2, Greenwich, CT: Jai Press Inc.

Williams, S. (2001). *Emotion and social theory*. London, UK: Sage.

Wilson, E. O. (1984). *Biophilia: The human bond with other species*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Wilson, E. O. (1998). *Consilience: The unity of knowledge*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf.

Wilson, M. S. (2010). *Developing Tomorrow's Leaders Today: Insights form Corporate India.* Singapore: John Wiley and Sons.

WTO (2009). *Tourism Highlights 2009 Edition* (Facts and Figures Section) : http://www.unwto.org.

Yang, C. F. (1996). *How to study the Chinese* (in Chinese). Taipei: Gui Guan.

Yang, C. F. (2006). The Chinese conception of the self: Towards a person-making perspective. In U. Kim, K. S. Yang, & K. K. Hwang, (Eds.) *Indigenous and cultural psychology: Understanding people in context* (pp. 327–356). New York, NY: Springer.

Yang, K. S. (1995). Psychological transformation of the Chinese people as a result of societal modernization. In M. H. Bond (Ed.), *The handbook of Chinese psychology* (pp. 479–498). Hong Kong: Oxford University Press.

Yang, K.S. (1997) Indigenizing Westernized Chinese Psychology. In M.H. Bond (Ed) *Working at the Interface of Cultures: Eighteen Lives in Social Science* (pp. 62–76). London: Routledge.

Yang, K. S. (1999). Toward an indigenous Chinese psychology: A selective review of methodological, theoretical, and empirical accomplishments. *Chinese Journal of psychology*, *41*, 181–211.

Yang, K. S. (2000). Monocultural and cross-cultural indigenous approaches: The royal road to the development of a balanced global psychology. *Asian Journal of Social Psychology*, *3*, 241–263.

Yang, K. S. (2006). Indigenous personality research: The Chinese case. In U. Kim, K-S Yang, & K-K Hwang (Eds.), *Indigenous and cultural psychology: Understanding people in context* (pp. 285–314). New York: Springer.

Zohar, D. (1996). Consciousness and Bose-Einstein condensates. In S. R. Hameroff, A. W. Kazniak, & A. C. Scott (Eds.), *Toward a science of consciousness* (pp. 439–450). Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Author Index

Subject Index